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Julius Friedrich Sachse

# THE GERMAN SECTARIANS OF PENNSYLVANIA

1742-1800

A CRITICAL AND LEGENDARY HISTORY

OF THE

## Ephrata Cloister

AND THE

## Dunkers

BY

JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE

★★★

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# CHAPTER I.

## CHRISTOPHER SAUER AND HIS GERMAN BIBLE.

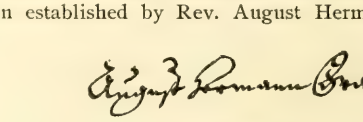


SYMBOL OF THE FRANCKE INSTITUTION.

CHRISTOPHER SAUER, after he became gradually established in Germantown as a clockmaker and printer, according to the custom of those days, dealt in books, writing materials, stationery, German household remedies and other commodities.[1] He also received consignments from Germany, consisting of books, chiefly devotional and scientific; the former came from both orthodox and separatist sources, as the Germantown printer still carried on a correspondence with both parties in the Fatherland. In a previous chapter[2] it was shown how Sauer, shortly after his return from Lancaster county, opened communication with institutions and dignitaries in Germany



and London.[3] The chief among the former was the institution established by Rev. August Herman Francke at



Halle, in Saxony, and it appears that Sauer became a kind of a local agent for the distribution of its output, both literary and remedial.

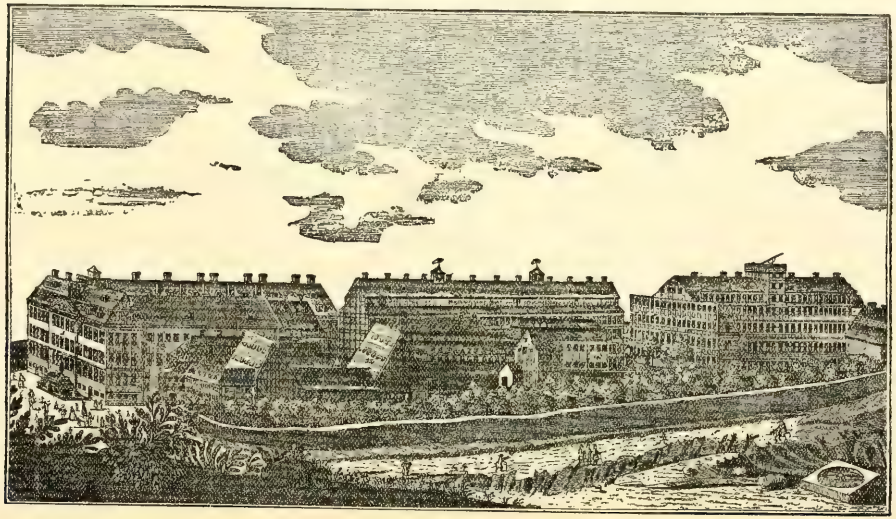
Connected with the Halle Orphanage,[4] as the Francke institution is usually called, which was then the chief seat of Lutheran Pietism, were a number of separate depart-

[1] A reference to the advertisements in *Pennsylvania Gazette* will show that Benjamin Franklin was even a more extensive general trader than Christopher Sauer.

[2] The *Weyrauchs Hügel*, vol. i, chap. xxii, pp. 312–328, *German Sectarians*, 1708–1742.

[3] *Lutheran Church Review*, vol. xvii, pp. 448, 524.

[4] This noteworthy institution is usually known as the *Hallische Weisenhaus*, or Orphange in Halle a. S. in Saxony. Established as an orphanage by Rev. August Herman Francke, 1698, in Glaucha, what was then a suburb of Halle. It rapidly rose from a small beginning until it became the largest charitable institution in Continental Europe, combining with its various charitable features numerous educational and industrial departments. It became known officially as *Die Frankischen Stiftungen in Halle* (The Francke Institution at Halle). It is still an active institution with over twenty special departments: (1) the Orphanage; (2) Royal Pædagogium; (3) Latin High School; (4) Real School; (5) Dormitories for the two latter; (6) Girls' High School; (7) Graded School for Boys; (8) Graded School for Girls; (9) Public School for Boys; (10) Public School for Girls; (11) Administration; (12) Department of Building; (13) Hospital and Infirmary; (14) Book Store and Printing Department; (15) Apothecary and Proprietary Medicines; (16) Canstein Bible Concern; (17) East India Missions; (18) Institution for Women; (19) A Public Library; (20) A Museum of Art and Natural History. This whole institution, with its various industries and departments, is surrounded by a high wall. A late census showed a population of 687 employees and attachees resident within its walls.



FROM A CONTEMPORARY PRINT.

THE FRANCKE INSTITUTION AND ORPHANAGE.

ments, such as an apothecary, a laboratory (*medicamenten-expedition*) for compounding upon a large scale certain proprietary medicines, of which they alone held the formulæ;[5] a printing-office and bindery, where were printed and published religious literature and advertising matter for the medicines.[6]

By far the most important branch of the Francke institution, however, so far as we are concerned, was the separate printing establishment known as the *Canstеinsche Bibel Anstalt* (Canstein Bible Institution), established in 1710 by Carl Hildebrand, Freiherr von Canstein,[7] for the purpose

[5] This department dates from the latter years of the seventeenth century (vide *German Pietists*, p. 57). The sale of the two preparations—*Essentia amara* and *Essentia dulcis*—soon reached large proportions and became one of the chief sources of income of the Francke institutions. The latter preparation was the so-called tincture of gold, the wholesale price of which was no less than £1. 9s. 2d. per ounce.

[6] The printed matter used by the Halle institution to advertise their remedies from the very beginning surpassed any similar ventures. Beside the special leaflets which accompanied the remedies, a book of 544 pages was printed as early as 1705, which contained a *Selectu Medicamentorum* for the various family, travelling or commercial assortments put up and sold by the institution. This was followed by a compendium published in Latin in 1720. Shortly afterwards it was rendered into German and then translated and printed in every tongue of Europe. It is doubtful whether even at the present day any modern patent medicine concern ever embarked in so extensive and thorough an advertising scheme.

[7] Carl Hildebrand, Freiherr von Canstein, was a Westphalia nobleman, born August 4, 1667; died August 19, 1719. He studied law at Frankfort a. O., and then served as a volunteer in Flanders. At Brussels he was taken sick, and in the "face of death" made a vow "If God should spare him he would devote his life to His service." After his recovery he studied theology and conceived the plan for issuing cheap editions of the New Testament and the Bible, so as to place God's Word within the hands of the poor and needy. The first edition of five thousand New Testaments was issued in 1712 at a nominal price. This was quickly followed by an edition of the Bible. From May, 1712, to December, 1800, there were printed and distributed about three million copies of the Holy Writ. Of the quarto Bible there were five editions; octavo (large), one hundred and five editions; octavo (small), ten editions; duodecimo, two hundred and twenty-four editions. This was independent of the versions in Bohemian and Polish.



CARL HILDEBRAND, FREIHERR VON CANSTEIN.
B. AUGUST 4, 1667; D. AUGUST 19, 1719.
FOUNDER OF THE HALLE BIBLE INSTITUTION.

of printing and distributing upon a large scale Bibles and Testaments among all German-speaking people throughout the world.

Consignments of these books were sent to America at various times by the Halle authorities,[8] some of which reached Germantown and were distributed by Sauer, according to his own statements, "gratis to the poor and needy, and for money to such as were able to pay."[9]

Many of the German settlers in Pennsylvania, owing to the peculiar religious conditions existing here, and who rejected the orthodox faiths, objected to the Halle Bibles, as doubts were cast by the Separatist leaders in the Fatherland upon these versions, they even questioning the correctness of Luther's translation.

This opposition was accentuated with the completion, in 1726, of the so-called Berleburg Bible, which differed greatly from the standard version, and while it was received as the true scripture by all Separatists and non-orthodox sects, was in turn frowned upon by the regular clergy and civil authorities of the Fatherland.

Christopher Sauer, as is shown by his advertisements, dealt in both of these versions,[10] and no doubt did a fair business in this line. It was not long, however, before a change came upon the scene, caused by the arrival of consignments sent from both Halle and Amsterdam direct to the congregations in Pennsylvania, in response to the repeated appeals from the Lutheran and Reformed congregations.[11]

This was quickly followed by the arrival of regular accredited pastors from Germany, who also brought many Bibles, and took the exclusive charge of the distribution

[8] Weisiger papers, *Hallische Nachrichten*, new edition, pp. 50–70.

[9] *Vide* Sauer's prospectus.

[10] *Pennsylvanische Berichte*, liii Stück, December 16, 1744.

[11] *Genesis of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania*, by J. F. Sachse, *Lutheran Review*, vol. xvii, 435 *et seq.*

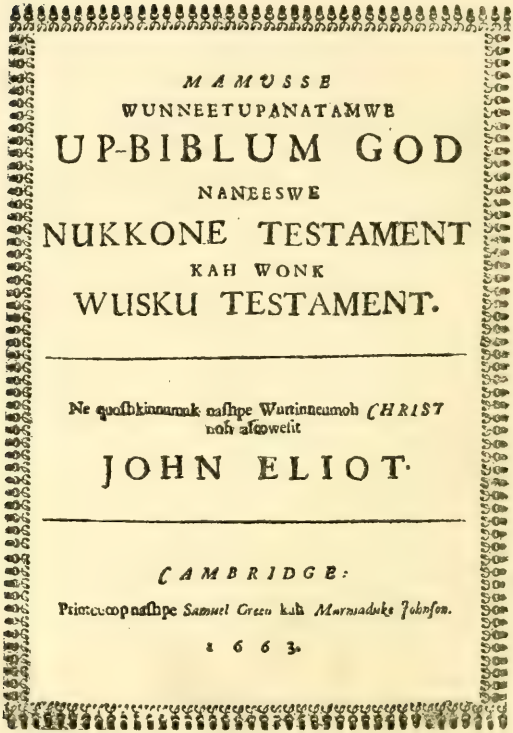
of the Canstein and Amsterdam Bible editions. These facts, together with the high price of the Berleburg edition, which was four volumes folio, and, according to Sauer's price-list, sold at £4. 15. 0.,[12] seriously interfered with the Germantown book-seller, who found his business injured. But, worse than all, there was no medium-priced Bible to be had for the use of the non-sectarians, while the Lutherans and Reformed were supplied directly by their pastors. To this must be added the fact that many of the German Bibles were printed in small type, illegible to the older persons, whose eyes were more or less dimmed by age or other infirmities, and spectacles as yet were almost unknown among the working classes.

Such was the situation which induced Sauer and his associates to consider the necessity and advisability of getting out an American edition of the Holy Writ,—one which should not only prove acceptable to all religious factions, but be of such size and clearness of type that it could be read easily by the older people, and at the same time be within the limit of their means.

The plans for the publication of an American Bible in the German tongue were undoubtedly consummated at Germantown during the printing of the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, at a time when Peter Miller, Conrad Weiser, with two of the Eckerlins and others, from Ephrata, were all intimately associated with Christopher Sauer, and who were then supervising the publication of that hymn-book, if in fact they did not perform most of the manual labor connected therewith.

The statement has been repeatedly made in print that the Sauer Bible of 1743 was the first edition of the Holy Writ to be printed in America. This is correct so far as any European tongue is concerned, but an error as to the general statement, because a version in the Indian tongue

[12] Foot-note 10.



*MAMUSSE*

WUNNEETUPANATAMWE

UP-BIBLUM GOD

NANEESWE

NUKKONE TESTAMENT

KAH WONK

WUSKU TESTAMENT.

Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh CHRIST
noh asoowesit

JOHN ELIOT.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printeoop nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson.

1 6 6 3.

FAC-SIMILE (REDUCED) OF THE INDIAN TITLE-PAGE OF ELIOT'S WHOLE BIBLE OF 1663.

was published and printed in Boston in 1663,[13] fully eighty years before the Germantown Bible.

A fac-simile of the Indian title-page of Eliot's Bible is shown upon the opposite page. The English title reads :—

*The | Holy Bible | containing the | Old Testament | and the New | Translated into the | Indian Language | and | Ordered to be printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | Corporation in England | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians | in New-England. | Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXIII.*

From the above it will be seen that this was not an individual venture, but done by order of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, at the charge and with the consent of the authorities in England.

The first public notice, so far as known, of the proposed German version by Christopher Sauer came in the shape of a prospectus in the German language. This was issued as a broadside, 9½ by 7½ inches. It was printed early in 1740, and upon the first page a number of reasons were given which induced Sauer to enter into the undertaking. These were followed by some of the details of the typography, the terms of subscription, price, etc. The reverse was intended as a specimen page of the print, commencing with the fifth chapter of Matthew.

This prospectus was scattered broadcast among the German settlers in Pennsylvania, being circulated chiefly by the teamsters,[14] who left copies at the various houses along

[13] For an exhaustive account of the Eliot Bible see "*Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages*, by James C. Pilling, Washington, D. C., 1891.

[14] The teamsters were of two kinds: the "regulars" who followed teaming regularly all the year round, and the "militia," as the farmers were designated who drove a team when their farm work was done, and then only made short and occasional trips.

# Bekantmachung.

Es ist zum theil bekant, daß verschiedene mahl sonderlich Bibeln/ neue Testamenter ꝛc. ꝛc. sind nach Germanton an den Drucker gesandt worden; theils unter Dürftige umsonst, theils zu verkaufen und das Geld den Dürftigen zu geben, welches man gethan hat, so weit es hat reichen mögen; man hat so dann mitler Weilen dabey gesehen, daß es nicht weit hat hingereicht, in dem viele vor Bibeln und Testamenter sonderlich gerne hätten wollen bezahlen, wann sie nur zu haben wären gewesen. Und da auch wohl zu weilen verschiedene sind aus Deutschland übergebracht worden, so ist offt solch hoher Preys darauf gesetzt worden, daß mancher abgeschreckt worden, oder nicht im Vermögen war solche zu bezahlen.

Man hat auch wahr genommen, daß Leute aus Deutschland in äusserster Armuth hier angekommen, und noch kommen, welche wohl nicht einmahl eine Bibel mit zu bringen vermogt und vermögen, viele kommen erst als Serven zu Englischen Leuten, welche entweder keine Bibel selbst haben, oder lesen, sondern im Gegentheil nichts als Arbeit haben und davon reden, zu geschweigen was noch schlimmer ist. Wann dann solche Leute sich in die Ferne zu wohnen begeben, so ist insgemein ihr Anfang nichts als Arbeit und was sonst die verderbte Natur mit sich bringt. Die Kinder werden gleichfals also auferzogen. Und da in Deutschland die Anstalten mit Kirchen und Schulen nicht ermangeln um den Kindern und Alten den Buchstaben ins Gedächtnüß zu bringen, (ob schon von wahrer Gottes furcht und Christi Tugenden, wenig gesühret wird;) und nun auch die Bibel bey den Türcken in ihrer Spach gedruckt wird: so bringen hergegen die Umstände dieses Landes es solcher Gestalt mit sich, daß (ins algemeine zu reden) auch die Unwissenheit des Buchstabens bey vielen je länger je gröſſer zu werden scheinet.

Will man dann die Fähigkeit zu haben geglaubt, dieses Mangels ein Theil abzuhelfen, so hat man das Seinige gerne wollen hierzu beytragen.

Weil aber zu einem solchen Bibel-Druck ein gröſſerer Verlag erfordert wird als man vermögend ist auszulegen, so hat man für nöthig angesehen, pränumeriren zulassen, oder deutlich zu sagen, daß ein jeder der eine Bibel verlangt, solle seinen Namen anzeigen und eine halbe Crone darauf bezahlen, welches darum nöthig ist: Erstlich/ daß man wissen möge wie viel man drucken dörffe. Und Zweytes/ daß man eine Beyhülffe habe zum Verlag, weil das Papier zu einer Bibel allein 7 Schilling und 6 Pens kosten wird. Und Drittens/ wann man genöthiget wird zum Verlag etwas zu lehnen, daß man auch gewiß wisse wieder frey zu werden. Und letztens/ weil das Land noch neu, und man noch kein Exempel vor sich hat.

Was die Form anlangt, so ist man willens sie in groß Quart, das ist, in Höhe und Breite wie dieses Blat, und von solcher Schrift wie die gegenwärtige, von welcher man glaubet, daß es lesslich seyn werde, für alte Leute sowohl als für junge. Die Dicke des Buchs wird etwa einer Hand hoch seyn. Man ist willens gut Papier dazu zu nehmen.

Keine Auslegungen oder Anmerckungen ist man willens beyzufügen, weil man hoffet, daß derjenige welcher mit einem aufrichtigen Hertzen die H. Schrifften lesen wird, der wird daraus unter der Zucht und Furcht GOttes sein Elend und Verderben erkennen lernen, und wañ er es erkennet, wird er nach dem wahren Erlöser verlangen, und indem er seinen Erlöser wird lernen kenen, und sehen wie er ihn erlösen wird von seinem Verderben, wird er ihn lieben, und weil er ihn liebet, so wird er sein Wort halten, ja wann er sein Wort halten wird, so wird ihn der Vater lieben, und Er und der Vater zu ihm komen und Wohnung bey ihm machen. Und wañ also die Gottheit in ihm wohnen wird, so wird der H. Geist der beste Auslleger seyn von seinen Worten, welche Moses, die Propheten, Christus nebst den Apostoln und Evangelisten geredet und geschrieben haben; und diß wird die richtigste Auslegung seyn.

Was den Preiß anlangt, davon kan man nicht eigentlich sagen: Erstlich/ weil man noch nicht weiß wie viel man drucken wird, weil eine kleine Anzahl das Buch theuer, und viele gewiß, das Stück wolfeyl machen. Zweyertens/ weil verschiedene gute Freunde der Warheit und Liebhaber der Göttlichen Lehren, aus Liebe zu GOtt und ihrem dürfftigen Nächsten, allbereits schon etwas beygetragen, und noch einige mehr so zu thun sich erbotten haben, theils daß die Bibel in geringem Preiß solle gegeben werden, theils daß die Spahrsame oder Geitzige keine Entschuldigung haben möchten, und die Wenigvermögende sich nicht beschweren können. Nachdem sich nun solcher Gutthäter noch mehr finden werden, und man selbst vermögend ist zu thun, nachdem wird der Preyß seyn; jedoch so viel kan man sagen, daß ohngebunden keine über 14 Schilling kommen soll, welches verhoffentlich niemand für theuer halten wird, wann er erwäget, daß das Druck-Papier hier im Lande wenigstens 4 mal so theuer ist als in Deutschland.

Das

their routes. This interesting prospectus, a fac-simile whereof is shown upon the opposite page, says:

[Translation].—"It is partly known that upon sundry occasions, Bibles, New Testaments, etc., were sent to Germantown, which went gratis to the needy, and were partly sold; the money being distributed among the poor. This was done, so far as it might go; but in the mean time it was found that it did not go far. Many wanted Bibles and Testaments, who were very willing to pay for them, if the same were only to be had. Although frequently some were brought from Germany, so high a price was often set upon them, that many were deterred or lacked the ability to pay the price.

"It has also been observed that people from Germany arrive here in the greatest poverty, and still come, who have not even a Bible, as they were not able to get one. Many are immediately bound out to service with English people, who either have no Bible, nor read one, and upon the contrary have nought but their work to talk about, to say nothing of what is still worse.

"When such persons become settled at a distance, their beginning is usually nothing but labor, and such as is incident to natural corruption. The children are raised even so. And as in Germany, the institutions of churches and schools are ample to bring the letters into the minds of both young and old (although the true fear of God and the Christian virtues are seldom touched upon), and as now the Bible is even printed in the language of the Turk: Yet the conditions of this country are causing (plainly speaking) by some means, that the ignorance of the letters with many seems to increase in time.

"Now, as we have, as we believe, the ability to partly meet this great need, so we will willingly contribute our share.

"But as such an edition of the Bible requires a greater outlay than we have the ability to command, it has been deemed necessary to ask for advance subscriptions, or to say plainly, that every one who may desire a Bible, is to send in his name and pay half a crown. This is necessary, as, firstly, that we may know a little how many we may hope to print.

"Secondly: That we may have some assistance towards the publication, as the paper for one Bible alone amounts to seven shillings, six pence.

"Thirdly: As we are forced to borrow something towards the publication, we want to be sure of our release. And lastly: As this country is still yet so new, we have no precedent before us.

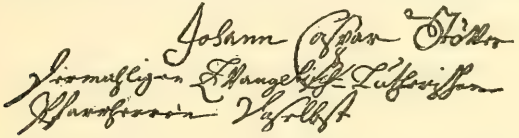
"So far as the size is concerned, we are willing to make it a large Quarto, that is of the length and width of this sheet, and of such type as the present, which we believe will be legible to old people as well as young. The thickness of the book will be about a hand high. We are willing to use a good paper thereto. So far as the price is concerned, that we cannot say definitely.

"Firstly: We cannot tell yet how many we shall print, because a small edition will make the book come high, and one of many will certainly make each piece cheaper.

"Second: Because divers good friends of truth and lovers of the divine teachings, out of love to God and their needy neighbour, have already contributed something, and some others have offered to do likewise,—partly that the Bible shall be given at a low price, partly so that the frugal and stingy may have no excuse, and the poor could not complain. Now as soon as more such benefactors are found, and we are enabled to act, the price will be made accordingly. But this much we may say,—that unbound, none will be more than fourteen shillings, which it is hoped none will account dear, when it is remembered that printing paper in this country is at least four times as costly as in Germany."

Just with whom the Germantown printer consulted about his proposed undertaking, or who encouraged him with substantial assistance at home and abroad, is unknown to us. What share Conrad Weiser, Peter Miller, the Eckerlins, Johannes Hildebrand and others had in shaping his determination is a problem which we cannot solve. It must be remembered, that this was at a period of great spiritual activity and excitement within the Province.

The arrival of Weiss, and later of Mühlenberg, Zinzendorf, Whitefield, Stoever and others all fell within the period when Sauer was engaged upon his Bible-work, and the advent of these men threatened the non-orthodox sects



and denominations. Strange as it appears to us at the present day, from none of these religious leaders could this pioneer printer in the western lands expect any encouragement for his proposed venture, as their interest, both financial and personal, lay in the editions of the Fatherland, which they knew were orthodox, and were consigned to, or controlled by them.

In a careful survey of the situation we may safely say that Sauer's support in his great venture for printing the first German Bible in America was chiefly derived from the Separatist sects, such as the Ephrata Mystics, the Dunkers, the Mennonites and others who renounced allegiance to the Lutheran and Reformed faiths, and the successful accomplishment of this great pioneer edition was due to these people.

As the scheme progressed and commenced to take a definite shape, Christopher Sauer inserted an announcement of the forthcoming publication in his Almanac for 1742, by which his proposal for printing a German Bible was brought to the notice of almost every German family, irrespective of faith or creed, in this and the adjoining provinces.

Unfortunately the writer has not been able to find any perfect copy of this Almanac, or at least one containing the announcement. The only positive proof we have of it is the printer's reference to it in his issue for 1744.

This was followed with quaint advertisements in English, announcing the proposed publication. These first appeared in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 31, 1742, and in Bradford's *Weekly Mercury* for April 1, 1742, and were continued in several subsequent issues. They were dated Germantown, March 26, 1742, and set forth:

**WHereas Numbers of the Dutch People** in this Province, eſpecially of the New Comers, are thro' mere Poverty unable to furniſh themſelves with Bibles in their own Language, at the advanced Price thoſe which are brought from *Germany* are uſually ſold at here: Therefore *Chriſtopher Sauer* of *Germantown*, propoſes to print a High-Dutch Bible in large Quarto, and in a Character that may be eaſily read even by old Eyes. And ſeveral well-meaning People having promiſed to contribute ſomething towards the Encouragement of the Work in general, that the Books may be afforded cheaper to real poor Perſons whether Servants or others; Notice is hereby given, that the ſaid Work (God willing) will be begun about the end of this Inſtant *April*; and that ſome Judgment may be made of the Quantity neceſſary to be printed, all Perſons who are enclined to encourage the Work, or to have one or more of the ſaid Bibles, may ſubſcribe before that Time with the aboveſaid *Chriſtopher Sauer* in *Germantown*, or with *Andrew Bradford* in *Philadelphia*. 2 s. and 6 d. is to be paid down towards each Bible (for which Receipts will be given) and the Remainder on Delivery of the Books, which, 'tis expected, will be in about a Twelvemonth. If no Charitable Contributions towards it are received, the Price of each Bible will not exceed 14 Shillings, and it ſhall be as much leſs as thoſe Contributions will enable the Printer to afford; of which Contributions a fair Account ſhall be given the Publick.

*Germantown, March 26.* 1742.

[THE ADVERTISEMENT IN THE PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE WAS THE SAME AS ABOVE WITH THE NAME OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN IN PLACE OF ANDREW BRADFORD.

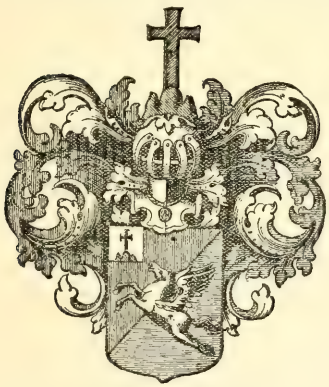
As will be seen from these advertisements, fac-similes of which are also given, both Benjamin Franklin and Andrew Bradford were virtually Philadelphia agents for the new German Bible. Whether either of them exerted themselves to obtain subscriptions, or to what extent, is an unanswerable question.

We, at the present day, can form but a slight idea of the

magnitude of this venture at that early period. Christopher Sauer personally had neither the training, experience nor financial means to ensure a successful issue of so great an undertaking. Then he was also confronted by the Act of Parliament, which vested the printing of the Bible in England and the Colonies in certain institutions, such as the Universities at Oxford and Cambridge, which, together with the King's printer, enjoyed the monopoly by patent from the Crown, *Cum Privilegio.*

If any prosecution should have been started against the Germantown printer it would have meant confiscation and punishment. So, considering all of the surroundings, we can but the more admire his courage and concern for the spiritual needs of his German fellow-countrymen.

Substantial encouragement was received in response to the various appeals sent out at home and abroad; these came either in the shape of advance subscriptions or donations, or perhaps both. Consequently, engagements were entered into by the Germantown parties, whereby the project took a tangible shape.



Arms of Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther.

It appears that a sufficient quantity of printing material and type was secured from a type-foundry and publishing house at Frankfort-on-the-Mayn, then presided over by Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther. The paper was obtained from local papermakers, while the ink was a home-made composition of Germantown soot (*kienruss*) and linseed

oil from the mills of the Brotherhood on the Cocalico. Thus was commenced, early in the year 1742, the printing of the Holy Writ in an European tongue in America; a work which for ages to come will redound to the credit of these pious German settlers in Penn's Province.

No extensive plant, no large establishment with proper resources was at the disposal of the venturesome publisher; all he had to depend upon was his own ingenuity and indomitable will and courage, together with the assistance of such skilled workmen as would offer their services, either *con amore* or at a slight remuneration. Nor was there any pecuniary profit in sight, even if the venture should prove a successful one.

Just where the first printing-shop was located in Germantown is another question, difficult of solution at this late day, in view of a total absence of any documentary evidence. One tradition tells us that it was over a stable, and that it stood back from the main street, which was really the whole of Germantown; that it was upon the east side of that highway, north of what is known as Danahower's lane, and just south of the John Wister property, about opposite the Indian Queen lane.

This oft-repeated tradition may be true, as it corresponds with John Adam Gruber's land, and we know Sauer lived upon it. At the same time there is positive evidence that the Sauer press was not always upon this ground, nor even upon this side of Main street, although the elder Sauer bought a portion of the Gruber land some years before his death.[15]

Certain it is, however, that the original *Druckerey* was a humble shop, with surroundings both rude and comfortless. The press was crude and home-made, and the whole primitive establishment was without any of the present labor-saving devices which constitute a modern printing office.

[15] *German Sectarians*, vol. i, p. 316.



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GERMANTOWN ROAD, OPPOSITE QUEEN LANE.

WISTER HOUSE.
COPIED BY RICHARDS IN 1864 FROM AN OLD SKETCH.

HOUSE BUILT BY CHRISTOPHER SAUER (2d).

CABINET- AND CLOCK-SHOP.
PRINTING OFFICE, FIRST IN CABINET-SHOP, THENCE IN OLD SAUER HOUSE.
HOME OF CHRISTOPHER SAUER (1st).

Die

# Heilige Schrifft

## Alten und Neuen

# Testaments,

## Nach dem Grund-Text

auſs neue übersehen und übersetzet:

Nebſt

**Einiger Erklärung des buchſtäblichen Sinnes,**

Wie auch der fürnehmſten

**Fürbildern und Weiſſagungen**

von

# Christo und ſeinem Reich

und zugleich

**Einigen Lehren die auf den Zuſtand der Kirchen in unſeren letzten Zeiten gerichtet ſind;**

Welchem allem noch unternähnget

**Eine Erklärung die den inneren Zuſtand des geiſtlichen Lebens, oder die Wege und Wirckungen GOttes in der Seelen, zu deren Reinigung, Erleuchtung, und Vereinigung mit Ihm, es erbauen gibt.**

---

**Gedruckt** zu Berlenburg
Im Jahr, wird erklärt und Ursprung der heiligen Schrifft Jesu Christi
1726.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE BERLEBURG VERSION,—THE SECTARIANS' BIBLE.

Humble as was this pioneer printing-shop in Germantown, scant its furnishings, and meagre its outfit, yet, according to the custom of the Fatherland, it was not without a motto of its own, and it was a characteristic one of the people who were instrumental in its establishment. This was displayed upon the walls, printed in the boldest "Sabon" type to be found in the Sauer font.[16] It read:

"Zur ehre Gottes und des Nächsten Bestes."

(To the glory of God and the good of Mankind.)

Such was the motto of the first German printing-press in America of which we have any definite account. This motto shows more than anything else the spirit that imbued the men who labored to establish German printing in this country.

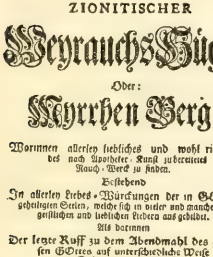
History is silent as to who the men were that set the type, laboriously inking the forms, correcting the sheets, or even pulling the lever of the press. The same is as true of Christopher Sauer as it is of the Ephrata Chronicles: both are silent as to these particulars. Tradition, however, tells us that much of the type-setting and proof-reading was done by the Ephrata Brethren. It is known that Rev. Peter Miller and two of the Eckerlins had had some experience in Europe as correctors or proof-readers, and that Jacob Gass was a practical printer, as well as Johannes Hildebrand, who had also served some time as a *schrifft-steller* in Europe,[17] and was in Germantown during the printing of the Bible, consequently, so far as the latter are concerned, the old tradition is undoubtedly true.

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[16] *Ibid*, p. 349.

[17] Johannes Hildebrand, whose acquaintance we have already made in the previous volume, was perhaps, next to Rev. Peter Miller, the most learned man in the early Dunker movement in America as well as of the Ephrata Community. He was evidently a college graduate, and, notwithstanding his violent attacks upon the Moravians, he was always treated with respect and consideration by them, and both in their manuscripts and private missives was styled *Magister Johannes Hildebrand.*

Then, again, we must consider the fact that some of the Ephrata Brethren were constantly present at Germantown during the printing of the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, and that a close intimacy existed between the printer and such of the Ephrata Brethren as were opposed to Beissel.[18]


ZIONITISCHER

Weyrauchs Hügel

Oder:

Myrrhen Berg,

Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apothecker-Kunst zubereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden.

Bestehend

In allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in GOTT gehaltenen Seelen, welche sich in vieler und mancherley geistlichen und leiblichen Liebes aus gebildet.

Als darinnen

Der letzte Kuss zu dem Abendmahl des grossen GOttes auf unterschiedliche Weise trefflich aus gedrucket ist.

Zum Dienst

Der in dem Abend-Ländischen Welt-Theil als bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Kirch GOttes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die Mitternächtige Zukunfft des Bräutigams aus Licht gegeben.

Germantown. Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer.

That Christopher Sauer, personally, was inexperienced in either revising or correcting proof-sheets, becomes painfully apparent in the attempt to do his own revision when printing an edition of Luther's *Smaller Catechism*, shortly after he had completed the Bible. Sauer, at this time, was evidently left in the lurch by his Ephrata assistants, as the work was for the uses of the Moravian Brethren.

So numerous were the typographical errors in this little book, that the printer felt it necessary to add a personal explanation at the top of a page of *errata* which gives us a clear insight into the situation:

"As the publisher chose to take upon himself the correcting of the proof, the following errors were found to have crept in and are now finally noticed."

It may be well at this point of our narrative to set at rest the numerous statements which have of late been repeatedly made in rostrum and public print in regard to the pioneer printer of Germantown, wherein it is claimed that he not only was a graduate of the University of Marburg, but had also acquired a medical education at Halle in the famous institution of August Herman Francke.

[18] Various contemporary advertisements in Sauer's newspaper.

Der
kleine
Catechismus
D. Martin Luthers.
Mit Erläuterungen
herausgegeben
zum Gebrauch
der
Lutherischē Gemeinen
in
Pensylvanien.

Germanton
Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur.
1744.

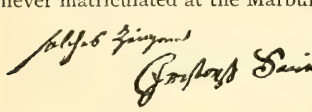
TITLE-PAGE OF CATECHISM PRINTED BY SAUER FOR THE MORAVIANS, *vide* p. 19.
Original 24mo., 5 x 3 inches.

Die höchst-nöthige
Erkenntniß
des Menschen,
sonderlich nach dem
Leibe und natürlichem Leben,
oder ein deutlicher
Unterricht,
von der Gesundheit und deren Erhaltung:
auch von denen Ursachen, Kennzeichen und Nahmen
der Kranckheiten, und bewährten Mitteln
gegen dieselben,
Damit ein jeder, auch Ungelehrter,
bey Ermangelung eines Medici, sonderlich durch XX.
sichere, hierzu hinlänglich erfundene, und zu
einer bequemen
Haus- Reise- und Feld-Apothecken
seligsten Medicamenten und Gebrauch dieses Tractats,
Vermöge bisheriger reicher Erfahrung, die gewöhnlichen, auch schweren Kranckheiten, sicher, und mit gutem Succeß curiren könne,
abgefasset von
D. Christian Friedrich Richtern,
MED. PRACT. in Halle,
Und nun zum Neuntenmal mit einem verbesserten
Register heraus gegeben.

Leipzig, zu finden
bey Joh. Friedrich Gleditschens sel. Sohn 1729.

TITLE-PAGE OF DOCTOR BOOK USED BY CHR. SAUER, REV. PETER BRUNHOLTZ, CONRAD WEISER AND OTHERS IN DISPENSING HALLE REMEDIES, *vide* p. 21.

Now, as a matter of fact, Christopher Sauer, of Laasphe, who afterwards became the pioneer printer of America, never matriculated at the Marburg University at all. Nor does his name appear upon any of the records of that academy.[19] Then as to the Francke institution at Halle,[20] they never had any department wherein medical instruction was given. What they did do, was to prepare and sell proprietary medicines, together with a book, similar to some of the present day, such as *Every Man His Own Doctor*, etc. These remedies were well known to the Germans, and were sold and dispensed by the Germantown trader according to the rules prescribed in the book.[21]



Christopher Sauer, the Germantown printer, was a plain German emigrant, of humble parentage, meagre education, by trade a tailor, who came to this country with wife and child to better his condition, and who, as was shown in a previous chapter of this work,[22] became a self-made man in the fullest sense of the word. He was a man of the people, and while, like many others of the time, he was imbued with religious notions of his own, strong in his convictions, unyielding in purpose, industrious and enterprising, he appears, during his whole course as printer and publisher, to have stood up boldly, and fearlessly championed the cause of the lowly and the oppressed, and while openly opposing many of the orthodox clergy in the Province, he appears to have been ever ready to extend the hand of charity to such as he thought were worthy preachers of the Word. Attempts at this late day to clothe this sturdy pioneer with college

[19] The same is true of the University at Halle, as may be seen by the official certificates in the possession of the writer.

[20] The Francke'sche Stiftungen, usually known as Das Francke'sche Weisenhaus (Orphanage), *vide supra*.

[21] Book in the library of the writer.

[22] Vol. i, chap. ix, p. 126.

and academic honors which he was not entitled to, are, to say the least, ill-advised, and only serve to detract from his well-earned laurels. Had any claim of this kind been made or attempted during the lifetime of the elder Sauer, he would undoubtedly have been the first to resent it.

There is another matter which the writer wishes to set right at this point. From an ambiguous note in the *Chronicon Ephratense*[22] it has been inferred that Christopher Sauer, together with Israel Eckerlin and Jacob Gass, were baptized by Conrad Beissel. The *Chronicon* says:

"After that we worked for Christopher Sauer, who brought "us to a meeting of the new congregation, at which I [Israel "Eckerlin] was strengthened in my good resolve to such a "degree, by the words of the Superintendent, that on Whit-"suntide of the year 1728, I was incorporated in this new "congregation by holy baptism, together with my master "and another brother, Jacob Gass by name."

It now appears that Israel Eckerlin at that time was indentured to a master mason named Heinrich Miller, and that both he and his master were doing some stone work at the Sauer farm, and were both introduced by Sauer to Beissel, with the result before stated. It was this same Heinrich Miller who later gave his whole fortune towards the building of Hebron (the present Sister House), afterwards receiving one hundred acres of Kloster land in return.[23]

The above facts are taken from a memorandum on page 168 of Brother Lamech's manuscript diary. It will be recollected that the *Chronicon Ephratense* is a mere abstract from the original, as made and published by Rev. Peter Miller (Agrippa-Jaebez), and printed some years after the death of both Lamech and Beissel.

This explanation of the above ambiguous entry in the

[22] Original edition, chap. vi, p. 34. Translation, pp. 41, 42.

[23] *German Sectarians*, vol. i, p. 474.

*Chronicon* leaves the denominational status of Christopher Sauer in as much doubt as ever, as there now appears to be no record of the elder Sauer ever having been in full communion with the German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers.



URNING our attention once again to the stupendous project of the religious enthusiasts for printing an American quarto edition of the German Bible, we find that no time was lost in entering upon their self-imposed task.

Contributions of linen rags were solicited and gathered, and in turn were sent to the paper-mill to be made into *maclatur*, as the plain printing paper was then called. *Kienruss* (lampblack) and linseed oil were procured and made into printers' ink.

An interesting account of this ink-making process is in the possession of the writer. The whole procedure was of the most primitive kind, and could only be attempted in clear dry weather. For this purpose a large copper kettle or cauldron was procured, and when ink was wanted the kettle, together with a quantity of linseed oil and soot, was taken on a cart and hauled into a field or clearing at a distance from any habitation; this was on account of the vile fumes emitted by the boiling oil. When a suitable place was reached a fire was made under the kettle and the oil boiled down until it reached the proper consistency of *Firniss*, then the *Kienruss* or lampblack was added, the men continually stirring the thickening mass. The quality of this ink depended entirely upon the fineness and color of the lampblack, yet so excellent was this domestic product, that for many years Germantown printing ink enjoyed the reputation of being the best made in America.

The first type was set and the first forms were worked off early in April, 1742, and long before the harvests of the year were gathered, the printed sheets of the five books of Moses were drying in the loft over the press-room.

This laudable venture unfortunately failed to prove a task of unbroken pleasure, so far as help and encouragement went, and it was left to Christopher Sauer, as the printer, to bear the burden of the opposition, and combat the difficulties as they presented themselves single-handed as best he could. How he acquitted himself appears in the course of this narrative.

Aside from the usual drawbacks to any undertaking of magnitude, especially when everything is new and strange, there were technical difficulties to overcome, caused by the inexperience of the workmen and a want of familiarity with their duties. How great these were may be understood when it is considered that upon an average no less than two quires of sheets were spoiled to every ream.

But still more remarkable was the opposition which manifested itself toward the printer in different quarters, we may say almost at the very inception of the great work.

To commence with, Sauer failed to obtain either the support or endorsements of the Lutheran and Reformed clergy in the Province, who were sincere in their opposition, fearing that the new Bible would not be free from typographical errors. Then again, members of these two faiths were apprehensive lest the Germantown printer should introduce non-orthodox matter into the text, they basing their opinion upon his open avowal of sectarian dogmas and doctrine.

This condition was aggravated to even a greater degree upon the arrival of Pastor Heinrich Melchoir Mühlenberg in November, 1742, who had been sent out to Pennsylvania by the Halle Institution. At the same time he was the accredited agent of the *Canstcinsche Bibelanstalt*, and came prepared to furnish Halle Bibles at a nominal cost.

Pastor Mühlenberg had evendently been cautioned against the Germantown printer prior to his departure from Ger-

many, for the latter was not unknown to the Halle authorities, as has been shown in a previous chapter.[24] Consequently there was but little intercourse between the two men, and as the young pastor refused to be influenced by Sauer or say anything in favor of the new Bible, the printing of which was well advanced, he drew upon himself all the rancor and invective of the printer. In turn Mühlenberg denounced the printer and his work from the pulpit, and warned all good Lutherans to beware of this new pitfall set for them by the Arch-Separatist.



PASTOR MÜHLENBERG.

That this controversy was not all one-sided is shown by the announcements of Sauer and the letters of Mühlenberg and others. The latter, in one of his reports to London and Halle, mentions, as first among his many great trials and temptations,—

"That the German printer, Christopher Sauer, up to the "present time (March 6, 1745) has left no opportunity pass "to vilify me and my sacred office,[25] and for no other "reason but that according to my conscience I have ad- "monished my congregations that when they were asked "to buy of his newly printed Bibles to take heed and see "whether he had not interpolated (*untergeschmieret*) obser- "vations of his own. And at every opportunity he, in his "Almanac and newspaper, has criticized and slandered the "Lutheran Institution." [26]

That Mühlenberg's attacks were not altogether lost upon the Germantown printer is shown by the latter's replies in

[24] Chap. xxii; also *Halle Reports*, Weisiger Papers, new ed., pp. 50–51.
[25] *Ibid* p. 92.
[26] *Lutherische Verfassung.*

both almanac and paper,—two mediums which gave him a great advantage over his clerical adversary, as he could reach almost the whole of the German population in this and the adjacent colonies, while the preacher could only hope to influence the circumscribed circle of the congregations which he served.

This opposition extended even to the Schwenkfelders, whose preachers raised objections to the new version and preached special sermons wherein they warned their hearers against the purchase of the Germantown edition, and cautioned such as had secured a copy to be careful in its use.[27]

So much for the antagonism of the orthodox faiths. Yet, strange as it will seem, there was an almost equally strong movement for a time among Sauer's own friends and fellow-Separatists and Sectarians against the proposed publication. The objection to the new Bible from the non-orthodox element was based upon Sauer's declaration in his printed announcements, that the work should be a duplicate of the thirty-fourth edition of the Halle Bible. The sect-people of Pennsylvania did not want what to them was an objectionable devotional book, which they in derision called the *Hallische Pietisten Bibel.* They wanted one to their own liking, and charged the printer with a breach of faith in wanting to cater to the Orthodox rather than to the Separatists.

Finally, to overcome at least a portion of these objections and conciliate both parties, Sauer concluded to print the whole Bible according to the Halle text, and in addition to insert the appendix to the Apocrypha, according to the latest Berleburg version.[28]

Subscribers, when the work was completed, it was stated, were to have their choice. The sheets would be bound

[27] Specimen sermon in Pennypacker collection.

[28] This was the III and IV Books of Ezra and the III Maccabees.

either with or without the extraneous matter as the purchaser might desire.

As Christopher Sauer's great work neared completion his troubles appeared to increase. Not only was the character of his Bible questioned, but new parties came forward and offered to receive orders for various German versions at a less price than Sauer's subscription rate.

This was independent of the editions controlled and distributed by the Lutheran and Reformed clergy throughout the Province. The most persistent of these opposing elements was led by a printer in Germantown, evidently Joseph Crell (*Crellius*), who for a time appears to have annoyed Sauer more than any other. To controvert the schemes of his new enemies Sauer printed two announcements in his newspaper for June 16, 1743, wherein he states:

"Now another misunderstanding circulates throughout the land, namely: It is said that a printer in Germantown is prepared to order from Germany Wittenberg Bibles, and will furnish them bound at twelve shillings each. But this is not so, neither is it possible, as they cost near three guilders[29] over there. If they come unbound, some bookbinders are apt to charge twelve shillings for binding. If a *Neuländer*[30] is to advance the money, he charges double.

[29] Evidently the German golden gulden is meant here, as the value of the silver gulden or florin was only equal to about two shillings.

[30] Neuländer,—this was a local term confined to Pennsylvania, and applied to a class of sharpers who came to the Province with the expectation of getting wealthy in a short time without work. Their scheme was to return to Germany and travel through the Palatinate and Würtemberg, making a profuse display of jewelry and money, similar to the mountebanks at the annual fairs, their aim being to induce persons of the middle classes to come to Pennsylvania.

As a plausible pretext they held out inducements that here was to be found all that man could wish for. The Province was represented as a very elysium; anyone could become as rich as a nobleman in a short time. Such a land had not its equal in the whole world, etc.

When a bookdealer accommodates any well-known person, he demands with right his pay from the person who gave the order, no matter whether they arrive in Spain or Pennsylvania. Domestic books are free of duty. A box of books, however, is weighed in England, and six pence sterling is paid on every pound, as may be seen from such bills. If the captain advances the money, he makes out his bills for double. Consequently it is impossible to deliver such a Bible in this country, at the old-country rate, unless the printer, binder, factor, custom officers, etc., donate their charges.

"But whosoever still thinks such were possible can apply to *George Wahnseidel*, who will order one for twelve shillings. The entry will be made gratis. If nought come from it, nothing is lost. It would be desirable if they could be given still cheaper, so that the Word of God would become plentiful in the hands and hearts of all mankind. Our own Bible, shortly to be issued, will cost in an ordinary binding, with clasps, eighteen shillings. For the poor and needy there is no price."

The other announcement sets forth:

"Divers Brothers, named *Neidhard* [Begrudger?], have given themselves great pains to belittle the Bible, which

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The profit of these wretches consisted in luring the honest burghers of Germany into entrusting themselves with their money and chattels into their keeping and embarking for the New World. Then again, the Neuländer's goods and freight were carried free, besides receiving a premium or head money for every person they embarked on shipboard at Rotterdam.

The worst feature of this disreputable trade happened upon the arrival at Philadelphia, when the whole cargo was sold into servitude and their chattels and belongings were seized for extras alleged to have been furnished during the voyage, notwithstanding the fact that the passage was paid prior to the start.

This nefarious trade was encouraged by the English ship-owners, Quaker and Churchman, who profited by this barter in human souls, and thus laid the foundation to some of the large fortunes of the present day.

See also Mühlenberg's account, *Hallische Nachrichten*, orig. ed., pp. 997 *et. seq.*

we have still on press. They say that it is falsified, and that we have not confined ourselves to Luther's translation; that it would not be bound, and what else was not told.

"All of which is too contemptible to merit any answer. If any one be interested in the matter, let him have patience until August, then they will see with their own eyes that this is not so.

"God reward them much good for the defamation."

The names in both of the above announcements are only figurative: *Wahnseidel* is evidently a localism for lunatic; while *Neidhard* is the German equivalent for a begrudger or jealous envier. The orthodox clergy is evidently meant by the latter phrase.

The tribulations of Sauer were not confined to his Bible issue during this busy period. Just as the opposition to his undertaking was developing more and more, a new trouble arose. This was a proposal to publish another German newspaper which was to appear weekly; Sauer's paper, it will be recalled, was issued monthly.

The first number of this new venture was published by Johann Crellius in May, 1743, under the title

*Das Hoch Deutsche Pennsylvanische Journal.*

This called forth a note from Sauer, which appeared in his newspaper of June 13, 1743, wherein, after dwelling upon the inexpediency of a weekly issue, and that even a monthly edition is a too frequent one, he says:

"It can oft be grasped with the hands, so plain is the fiction or intermixture. Even if we only write what appears creditable unto us, it frequently happens not to be so. If we touch ever so little upon the realm of the church, as it appears to us, or as we receive it from trustworthy sources, it is always sure to bring out, upon one side or the other, hate, chagrin, envy, etc."

In August, 1743, the announcement was promptly made that the new Germantown Bible was ready for delivery.

So far as the time went, and the quality of paper and typography was concerned, the printer had conscientiously kept his promise. This monumental work of no less than 1267 pages quarto was set up, and twelve hundred copies were laboriously printed four pages at a time, and the book was finished in about a year and a half.

The rapidity with which this great work was carried to completion becomes more apparent, when we compare it with the first Eliot Indian Bible printed in Boston, 1663. It took just double the time to print the Eliot Bible that it did to print the Germantown edition. The former was commenced in September, 1660, and was ready September, 1663, while the Sauer Bible was begun April, 1742, and was in the hands of the subscribers August, 1743. It took the German printers just fifteen months to finish the work, or less than half the time of the Boston printers. Then again, there were more pages and copies in the Germantown edition than in that of the other. Further, a comparison of the two versions will show the vast superiority of the German Bible in every respect over the New England issue.[31]

Great was the satisfaction and joy of the Germantown printer and his associates, be they who they might, when the last form was printed, and the title had been worked off in two colors.[32] We may well picture to ourselves the scene, the little group of earnest men in the grimy printing-shop, with Christopher Sauer, bearded and unshorn, as the central figure, who, according to the old Germantown legend, after he had surmounted all obstacles and opposition, crossed his hands over his breast, and raising his eyes

[31] For further information about the Eliot Bible see *Bibliography of the Algonquin Languages*, by James Constantine Pilling, Washington, 1891, pp. 132, *et seq.*

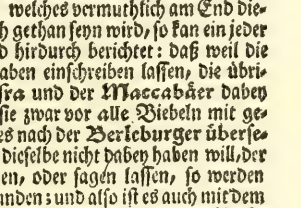
[32] This was one of the earliest attempts at a rubricated title in the colonies.

heavenward, fervently exclaimed, "*Dank Gott es ist vollbracht.*" (Thank God it is finished.)

Christopher Sauer announced the completion of his Bible in the thirty-fifth issue of his paper,

*Der Hoch-Deutsche Pennsylvanische Geschichts Schreiber:*

"The Bible printed in Germantown is now finished; and as every bookbinder has not the facility for glueing (*planiren*), so we will glue them ourselves, so that no inexperienced one need attempt it. When this is done and they are dry, which will presumably be toward the end of this month, then every one can have them; and they are hereby informed that, as the majority of those who have registered demand the remaining books of Esdras and the Maccabees, so these have been printed for all Bibles, and this according to the Berleburg translation. But whoso-



Die Bibel in Germanton gedruckt iſt nun fertig; und weil ein jeder Buchbinder nicht gelegenheit hat zu planiren ſo will man ſie auch alle ſelbſt planiren, (leimen) damit kein unwiſſender darneben komme, und wann es geſchehen iſt und ſie trocken ſind, welches vermuthlich am End dieſes Monats auch gethan ſeyn wird, ſo kan ein jeder haben, und wird hirdurch berichtet: daß weil die meiſten ſo ſich haben einſchreiben laſſen, die übrigen Bücher Eſra und der Maccabäer dabey begehrt, ſo ſind ſie zwar vor alle Bibeln mit gedruckt, und dieſes nach der Berleburger überſetzung, wer aber dieſelbe nicht dabey haben will, der kan es nur melden, oder ſagen laſſen, ſo werden ſie nicht bey gebunden; und alſo iſt es auch mit dem kleinen Anhang vom Unterſchied etlicher überſetzungen in einigen puncten. Wem man verſprochen hat ſeine Bibel zu binden oder binden zu laſſen, dem will mans thun, und wer ſelbſt davor ſorgen will, der wird uns einer Mühe überheben. Ungebunden iſt der Preyß 12 Schilling, das übrige iſt nach dem ſie gebunden und beſchlagen wird, in Schafleder, Kalb, oder ander Leder &c.

ever does not want these in his Bible, has only to give notice or send word, and they will not be bound; the same applies to the short compend (*Kurtzer Begriff*) explaining a few points upon the variations of the different translations.

To whomever we promised to bind their Bible, or to have it bound, for them will we do it; and whoever wish to attend to it for themselves will relieve us of a care. Unbound the price is twelve shillings. The remainder is according as to how they are bound and studded, whether in sheepskin, calf or other leather, etc."

The original title-page of the new Bible was rubricated, *i. e.*, printed in two colors, red and black, and in appearance and style was almost a counterpart of the standard Halle edition. From the eleventh line down there was, however, a deviation from the regular text of the orthodox version. This set forth that the Bible was complete, with the customary (usual) appendix (*nebst den gewöhnlichen Anhang*), the third and fourth books of Ezra and third book of the Maccabees. Then follows the American imprint.

The above eleventh line was so palpably false, in view of the introduction of the Berleburg translation and the other hetrodox matter in the appendix to the New Testament, that it raised a storm of indignation and protest from the orthodox inclined (of which more anon) so that a new title-page was substituted and inserted in all copies still unbound or undelivered.

In this new title the words *nebst einen Anhang* (together with an appendix) were substituted for the objectionable line.

In making this change the whole title was reset and greatly improved in appearance. A curious misprint, however, unfortunately appears in the tenth line and was not discovered, viz., "Parllelen." This was corrected in the later editions of 1763 and 1776. But few specimens of the first editions are to be found with the original title.

The title-page of the New Testament, printed in black ink, was an exact copy of that of the Halle Bible. Facsimiles (reduced) of the above-mentioned titles are presented upon pages 34, 35 and 36.

The most careful and exhaustive collation ever made of the Sauer Bible is that of E. B. O'Callaghan in his work [33] on the Holy Scriptures, printed in America previous to 1860.

*1. Biblia,* | *Das ist:* | *Die* | *Heilige Schrift* | *Altes und Neues* | *Testaments,* | *Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung* | *D. Martin Luthers,* | *Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch* | *beygefügten vielen und richtigen Parllelen;* | *Nebst einem Anhang* | *Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esrä und des* | *dritten Buchs Maccabäer.* | (An ornamental line across the page.) *Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.* |

Title, 1 p.; verso, blank; Vorrede, 1 p. having an ornamental head piece at the top consisting of four lines, the first composed of 36 printer's flowers, then two rows of stars, and the fourth line the same as the first, but the flowers inverted; *Verzeichnisz aller Bücher* | *Des Alten und Neuen Testaments.* | 1 p. This list is accompanied by an Index indicating the number of the page at which each Book commences. Text: Gen. to Mal., pp. 1–805; Apocrypha (in similar type), pp. 806 to the prayer of Manasses, which ends on the upper part of p. 949; the 3d and 4th Books of Ezra, and 4th Book of Maccabees (in smaller type), pp 949–995, filling one-third of that p. "*Ende des dritten Buchs des Maccabaer, und des Anhang des alten Testaments.*" Beneath a Seraph's head and wings; the remainder of p. 995 and its verso are blank. Sigs. A to Kkkkkk$^{2}$ in 4$^{s}$. *Das Neue* | *Testament* | *Unsers* | *Herrn und Heylandes* | *Jesu Christi, Verteutscht* | *Von Dr. Martin Luther.* | *Mit* | *jedes Capitels kurtzen* | *Sumarien,* | *Auch beygefugteu vielen richtigen* | *Parallelen.* | (An ornamental line across the page.) *Germantown:* | *Gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur, 1743.* | 1 p. verso, *Verzeuchnisz der Bücher des Neuen Testaments;* Text: Mat. to Rev. pp. 3–277; at the end of Rev.: *Der Offenbarung S. Johannis, und des Neuen Testaments Ende,* beneath which, another Seraph's head and wings. *Register der Episteln und*

[33] *A* | *list* | *of Editions* | *of the Holy Scriptures* | *and parts thereof* | *Printed in America previous to 1860* | *with Introductory and Biographical Notes* | *By E. B. O'Callaghan* | *Albany, 1861.*

# BIBLIA,

Das iſt:

Die

# Heilige Schrift

Alten und Neuen

# Teſtaments,

Nach der Deutſchen Ueberſetzung

## D. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügten vielen und richtigen Paralleten:

**Nebſt dem gewöhnlichen Anhang**

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Eſra und des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

**Germantown:**

Gedruckt bey Chriſtoph Saur, 1743.

ORIGINAL TITLE OF THE SAUER BIBLE.

# BIBLIA,

Das iſt:

Die

# Heilige Schrift

Alten und Neuen

# Teſtaments,

Nach der Deutſchen Ueberſetzung

## D. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügten vielen und richtigen Parallelen;

Nebſt einem Anhang

Des dritten und vierten Buchs Eſra und des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germantown:

Gedruckt bey Chriſtoph Saur, 1743.

REVISED TITLE OF THE SAUER BIBLE.

Das Neue

# Testament

Unſers

Herrn und Heylandes

# JEſu CHriſti,

Verteutſcht

Von

## Dr. Martin Luther.

Mit

Jedes Capitels kurtzen

Sumarien,

Auch beygefügten vielen richtigen

Parallelen.

Germantown:

Gedruckt und zu finden bey Chriſtoph Saur, 1743.

TITLE-PAGE TO NEW TESTAMENT IN SAUER BIBLE.

*Evangelium*, 3 pp., not numbered ; "*Ende*," on last p. ; *Kurtzer Begriff | Von den Heiligen Schrifften und deren | Uebersetzungen. Mit etlichen Anmer- | ckungen*, | 4 pp. in double columns. Sigs $A^2$ to Mm, all in $4_s$ except the last, which is in $6^s$.

The 1st, 4th, 6th, 8th, 11th and 14th lines of the first or general title, are printed in red, the others in black ; the title to the New Testament is in black ink ; an ornamental head piece, 1⅝ inches wide, extends across the page at the beginning of Genesis, and there is another ornamental head piece at the commencement of Matthew ; the other pages have each two black lines at the top, between which are printed the name of the Book, the number of the Chapters on the page and brief summary of the contents. It is in double columns, and the parallel references are at the end of their respective verses. The signature letters to the Old Testament are in German, to the New Testament in Roman, characters.

The Germantown printer saw fit to add the following preface to his Bible :

[Translation.]—"Though all books require a preface, whereby the use and property (*eigenschafft*) of the book is briefly described, the Bible is in itself sufficiently known and contains in itself all that can be said about it ; above all, it (the Bible) and all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, throughly furnished unto all good works, II Tim., iii, 15, 16, 17.

"The moving causes for printing the present Bible have chiefly been, as has been observed, firstly : that many poor Germans come into this country who do not all bring Bibles. Secondly, that so many are born and bred in this country who also do not know how to obtain them, and who have seen that the well-to-do usually only care for themselves and theirs.

"We have selected Luther's translation because it is most in keeping with the usual German expression, and although divers translations differ according to the word in various parts, yet it usually amounts to the same sense, and we are assured that whosoever with a true heart bring into practice with Christ's power such parts of Scripture as are plain and clear and have no need for any explanation, and remain true unto them, they will be placed over so many of God's mysteries as

# Vorrede.

NAnn alle Bücher einer Vorrede bedürffen, wo durch der Nutzen und Eigenschafft des Buchs kürtzlich beschrieben wird, so ist die Biebel an ihr selbst genug bekant, und bringet selbst Alles mit, was man nur davon beschreiben kan; überhaupt, Sie und alle Schrifft die von GOtt eingegeben, ist nutz zur Lehre, zur Straffe, zur Besserung, zur Züchtigung in der Gerechtigkeit, daß ein Mensch Gottes seye Vollkomen, zu allen guten Wercken geschickt. &c. 2 Tim. 3, 15. 16. 17. Die Beweg-Ursachen zum Druck dieser gegenwärtigen Biebel sind hauptsächlich gewesen, da man gesehen: erstlich, daß so viel arme Teutsche in diß Land kommen, welche nicht alle Biebeln mit bringen. Zweytens, daß so viele im Land gebohren und erzogen werden, welche ebenfals nicht alle zu bekommen wissen, und man gesehen daß die Vermögenden gewöhnlich vor sich und die ihrige sorgen.

Man hat Lutheri Uebersetzung erwehlet, weil sie der gemeinen Teutschen Red-Art am ähnlichsten ist, und obgleich etliche übersetzungen den worten nach, in etlichen Stücken unterschieden sind, so laufft es doch gemeiniglich auf Einen Sinn hinaus, und ist man versichert daß wer mit einem aufrichtigen Hertzen diejenige Schrifft-Stellen welche klar und deutlich sind und keiner erklärung nöthig haben, durch Christi Krafft in Uebung bringen wird, und in denselben getreu bleiben, der wird über so viele Geheimnüße GOttes gesetzt werden, als zu seinem ewigen Heil nöthig sind; Und wer ein Thäter des Worts und nicht nur ein Zöhrer oder Leser seyn wird, der wird weder sich selbsten noch andere betrügen. Wem etwas unfaßlich im lesen vorkomt, und der rechten Weißheit mangelt der bitte von GOtt der gibt sie reichlich, dem der im Glauben bittet Jac. 1, 5. Und ob ihm etwas zu einer Zeit nicht gegeben würde, so wird ers zur andern Zeit Sonnenklar erkennen, wann er in denselben Stand kommt, wovon die Rede ist.

Man hat die Halliysche Biebel und zwar die 34ste Edition vor sich genommen, erstlich weil sie sehr reich von Paralellen (anweisungen) ist. Zweytens, weil man geglaubt, daß sie die wenigste Druckfehler in sich halte, weil der Satz stehen bleibt. Die Beschuldigung, daß man sein eigenes drunter gemenget, und nicht bey Lutheri Uebersetzung geblieben sey, achtet man nicht werth zu widersprechen, sie ligt vor Augen, und wer unsern Druck gegen die besagte Edition hält, der wird finden daß man nicht allein dabey geblieben, sondern mehr als ein hundert Druckfehler verbessert hat, welches letzte man nicht erinnert, jener Arbeit zu tadeln, sondern wan jemand finden solte, daß wieder unser Wissen, auch Druckfehler eingeschlichen sind, daß es uns ergangen sey, wie andern Menschen.

Man hat auch keine Erklärungen darüber gemacht wozu man so wohl Freyheit gehabt hätte, als andere Menschen, erstlich darum, weil durch die Schrifft-Anweisungen vielmahl ein Spruch den andern erkläret im geistlichen Sinn. Zweytens, weil man versichert ist, daß wer die Schrifften mit einem aufrichtigen Hertzen lieset, bey dem erkläret der Heilige Geist im Hertzen seinen rechten Sin dem lesen selbsts und wie einer, der glaubiger solches in sich selber, ins besondere erfahret, so glaubet man gewiß daß die Zeit nahet worinnen die gantze Erde wird voll Erkäntnus des HErrn werden, Es. 11, 9 und nicht nöthig seyn daß ein Bruder den andern lehre und ermahne den HErrn zu erkennen; Jer. 31, 34 sondern sie werden alle von GOtt gelehret seyn, beyde klein und groß, was er seinen Geist ausgießen wird über alles Fleisch, daß Söhne und Töchter weissagen, Jünglinge Gesichte sehen, und die Aeltesten Träume haben, und auf seine Knechte und Mägde sein Geist strömen wird, Joel. 2, 28.-32. so wird er seinen Sinn selbst erklären, und seine Krafft beweisen, ja gar das Wort selbsten seyn. Hierum sehe wer sehen kan: Komm bald HErr JEsu!

are requisite for their eternal salvation. And he who will be a doer of the Word, and not merely a reader or hearer, will deceive neither himself nor another when anything incomprehensible appears in the reading. If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, James i, 5. And if somewhat be not granted for a season he will at some other time discern it as clear as the sun, when he arrives at the same condition wherein it is written.

"We have taken the Halle Bible, in fact the thirty-fourth edition.

"Firstly, because it is very rich in parallels.

"Secondly, because it is believed that it contains the fewest misprints, as the type is kept standing.

"The accusation that one has mixed his own with it, and has not followed Luther's translation, is regarded as unworthy of contradiction. It now lies before our eyes, and whoever compares our print with the aforesaid edition will find that we have not only adhered to it, but have corrected more than a hundred misprints. The latter is not mentioned as a censure, but that in case anyone should find that, without our knowledge, errors have again crept in, it has happened unto us as unto other men.

"Moreover, no explanations have been made, although we were as much at liberty to do so as other people.

"Firstly.—By means of Scripture parallelisms one phrase frequently interprets another in the spiritual sense.

"Secondly.—Because we are assured that whosoever reads the Scriptures with an upright heart, to him the Holy Spirit reveals within the heart the true meaning at the reading itself, and as every believer undergoes such an experience in himself individually, so one believes assuredly that the time nears when the whole earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord (Isaiah xi, 9), and there shall be no need that brother teach brother and admonish him to know the Lord (Jer. xxxi, 34). But they shall all be taught of God, both small and great, when He shall pour out His Spirit on all flesh, that sons and daughters prophesy, young men see visions and the old men dream dreams, and His Spirit shall flow upon His servants and

handmaids (Joel ii, 28–32). So will He himself make clear His meaning, and show His might, yea verily, be the Word itself.

"For this join in supplication, whosoever can pray.
"Come quickly, Lord Jesus."



N examination of the Sauer Bible shows that while with a single exception (Job xixv, 25, 26, 27) he may have confined himself to the Halle text in the Bible proper, he certainly departed widely from the accepted version in his appendix to the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. Here he used the Berleburg text, which differs from the Luther version mainly in the fact that in the seventh chapter of IV Ezra, following verse 35, there is introduced a quantity of matter which that version states is "A certain Arabic Translation to be found only recorded in England, etc." This pericope relates to the seven degrees of humiliation and glorification.

We will here digress to explain more fully the point at issue about the Book of Esdras:

Catholic theologians call this book the Fourth of Esdras, because they reckon the canonical books of Ezra and Nehemiah the First and Second of Esdras, Esdras being merely the Greek for Ezra. The First apocryphal book of Esdras they therefore call the Third, and what Protestants call the Second they call the Fourth.

Now, the apocryphal First of Esdras has very little original matter, being largely composed of extracts from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah; only the third and fourth chapters and the first six verses of the fifth are new. When, therefore, we speak without qualification of the Book of Esdras, we may fairly be taken to mean the famous apocryphal Apocalypse, written in Greek by an unknown writer about the time of the Christian era. The original Greek is lost, and the book has come down to us in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic and Arabic translations. Now, right in the middle of the book

there is a long passage about heaven and hell, which must have been in the original Greek, because it is found in all four of the Oriental versions just named, and was anciently quoted in Latin. But from the invention of printing to the year 1875 it was not found in any Latin manuscript. Consequently as the Catholic and other European versions of it were always based on the Latin, they persistently omitted this passage, in spite of the fact that it was quoted by the Fathers from the fourth century onwards.

At last a Cambridge librarian, named Bensly, found the missing passage in a Latin manuscript of the ninth century at the famous cathedral city of Amiens, and published it at his own University in 1875. Soon after this the scholars of the English Church, in a new edition of the Apocrypha, published the fragment in its right place in the text, having to wedge in seventy new verses into the seventh chapter in order to do so.

Finally, in 1895, when the Revised Version of the Apocrypha came out, the seventy verses were there too. It is not generally known that the Anglo-American Revised Version took twenty-five years to complete. Begun in 1870, the New Testament appeared in 1881, making a great sensation; the Old Testament fell flat in 1885, and the Apocrypha still flatter in 1895.

Now the same fragment which we have seen thus reinstated by the scholars of the nineteenth century as a literary matter of course, without opposition, was printed by the German Dissenters in their version of the Scriptures published at Berleburg in Westphalia in the year 1726. From this version it was faithfully copied by Christopher Sauer in his Germantown Bible, and he also stated that it was found in an Arabic manuscript in London. We have already seen that even then it existed in Syriac, Armenian and Ethiopic, as well as in Arabic and in Latin too, if people had only known where to look for the manuscript. So small, however, was the diffusion of sacred learning in the eighteenth century that some theologians attacked the honest Germans for printing the whole of this ancient Apocalypse of Esdras. (Readers must remember that all Apocrypha, that is, uncanonical writings, are not Apoca-

lypses; neither are all Apocalypses among the Apocrypha. But the Book of Esdras is both an Apocryphon and an Apocalypse.)

It was this departure which again aroused the ire of the Lutheran and Reformed pastors, and made the corrected title-page a necessity. At the same time this feature increased the popularity of the new Bible among the Sectarians, many of whom attached considerable mystical import to the Berleburg text and the supposed interpolation.

It was not alone to the above noted variations from the Halle text that umbrage was taken by the various clergy, but also to the Appendix known as *Kurtzer Begriff* (Brief Compend). Here Sauer and his associate (now thought to have been Johannes Hildebrand) who composed it, had full sway in ventilating their opinion. This called down upon them numerous anathemas from the German clergy within the Province. One of these peculiar sermons has come down to us. It was preached by Balthasar Hoffman, a Schwenkfelder, and has been preserved in a manuscript volume of his writings compiled by his son Christopher Hoffman:

*Theologische Bezeugung, über Matt. 24, 25. Wo sintemal im neuen Bibel Druck in Germantown über diese worte zu ende des Buchs ein Bedenken mit eingerückt. Solches den Theologischen Sinn des Herrn Christi gar nicht enthält, und nach der Mystica sich auch nicht wohl fügen will. Und von dieser Bibel auch einige Exemplaria unter uns Syne gekaufft worden, also habe bedacht es gebühre mir den sinn hier über wie ich ihn nach der Christlichen Theologie ansehe zu Offenbahren. Doch also dass ich damit den Author des erwähnten Bedenkens über diesen vers nicht wiederlege.*[34]

Christopher Sauer, it is true, in his advertisements gives

[34] *Predigten von Balthaser Hoffman, gesammelt und zusammen getragen von Christoph Hoffman, MDCCXCV.* Volume in collection of Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Philadelphia.

# Kurtzer Begriff.

## Von den Heiligen Schrifften und deren Uebersetzungen Mit etlichen Anmerckungen.

GOTT ist ohnstreitig daß die Schrifften des Alten-Testaments anfangs in Hebräischer Sprache geschrieben worden. Als aber Ptolomæus Philadelphus, ein heydnischer König von den Schrifften gehöret, wozinnen GOTT seinen Willen an das Jüdische Volck zu ihrem besten bekant gemacht, ließ er LXX. Dolmetscher aus den Juden kommen, welche ihm die Schrifften samt den Historien aus der Hebräischen Sprache in seine Griechische übersetzen solten, damit es nach dem reinen Sinn und Buchstaben gethan, und nicht etwa mangelhar, oder nach eines oder des andern Gutdünckten übersetzt würde. Da aber viele von der Juden Schrifften bey den Zerstörungen und sonst, sind verlohren gegangen, und aus der Grichischen Sprache wieder übersetzt worden sind, zumahlen sie immer abgeschrieben wurden, so findet sich nun daß nicht alle Hebräische Schrifften so genau mit einander überein kommen daß nicht ein Zäncker zu Disputiren finden könne.

Das Neue-Testament ist meistens in Griechischer, und Lateinischer Sprache geschrieben; und ob gleich vor Lutheri Zeit von den Schrifften in Deutscher Sprach zu finden waren, so sind sie doch, wie ohnnoch im Pabstthum, dem gemeinen Mann nicht in die Hände gegeben, noch zu lesen erlaubt worden.

Lutherus aber hat die Schrifften in unsere Deutsche Sprache zu übersetzen gleichsam das Eis gebrochen, und hat nach dem Maaß seiner Gabe ein groses Werck gethan; er schreibt von sich selbst also: Ich habe mich des geflissen im Dolmetschen, daß ich rein und klaar Teutsch geben möchte, und ist uns doch wohl offt begegnet, daß wir 14 Tage, 3 4. Wochen haben ein einiges Wort gesucht und gefragt, habe is dannoch zuweilen nicht gefunden. Im Buch Hiob arbeiteten wir also, M. Philipus Aurogallus und ich, daß wir in 4 Tagen kaum 3 Zeilen kogten setzten. Nicht, nun es vertheutschet und bereitet ist, kans ein jeder lesen und meistern, läufft einem für mir den Augen durch 3 oder 4 Blätter, und stösset nicht einmal an, wird aber nicht gewahr, welche Backen und Klötze da gelegen sind, da er jetzt übahingehet, wie über ein gehöfelt Bret, da wir haben müssen schwitzen, und uns ängsten &c.

Nun lieset man in Gottfried Arnolds Kirchen- und Ketzer Historie und anderstwo, daß Lutheri eigene Arbeit doch noch hie und da einen harten Sylum oder Alt-Sächsische Red-art hatte, es habe aber ein gewisser Burger aus Leipzig ebenfals die Schrifften aus dem Grund-Sprache übersetzt, mit einer zierlichen und anmühtigen Redens-art, und solche dem seligen Luthero gezeiget, welcher sie vor gut angesehen und unter seinem Nahmen zu drucken erlaubt &c.

Nebst diesem haben sich noch verschiedene an die Grund-Sprachen begeben, um die Schrifften entweder in ihre Landes- und Mutter-Sprach zu übersetzen, oder den Sinn etwas fasslicher zu geben; dahero sind uns in der Deutschen Sprach wenigstens 8 übersetzungen bekant. Under er Länder zu geschweigen finden sich in Engelland wenigstens 5 Uebersetzungen, und ist nicht zu zweifeln, sie seyen zum Theil nach dem Maaß der Gabe; Zum Theil aber haben sich manchmal ein und andere Puncten nach des übersetzers Meynung, Gutdünckten und Vorurtheil bequemen müssen und lencken lassen. Dahero unter denen Gelehrten viele Unenigkeit entstanden. Woraus dann erhellet, daß noch der Heilige Geist in gröfferem Maaß zu erwarten stehet, welcher seiner eigenen Worte Dollmetscher und Ausleger seyn wird in gänzlicher Einigkeit; dann die reine pure Warheit ist in Ihm gestern wie heut, und wird so bleiben in Ewigkeit. Biß dahin thue ein jeder wohl, daß er sich diesen Herrens-Gast in das Innerste seiner seelen erbitte und einlade, der wird ihn in alle Warheit leiten und mit bringen, was kein Mensch geben noch aussprechen kan. Und dieser zeiget allein, wo die Verschiedenheit der Worte auf einen Sinn hinaus-lauffe.

Man ist willens gewesen anderer Uebersetzungen Unterschied auf diesen Platz gegen ein ander zu setzen; man fand aber bald, wann es an allen Orten geschehen solte, es müßte dieser Anhang nothwendig 4 mal so groß werden, als diese Bibel selbst, wann man daher setzen solte, wie es andere geben, als: Froschauers, Piscatoris, Forchens, die Berleburger, Zu geschweigen die Jüdisch-Teutsche, Holländische, Englische und anderer, so sie in ihre Landes- und Mutter-Sprachen übersetzt sind, nebst den Neuen Testaments-Proben von Reitz, Junckerot, Reyser, Zinzendorff &c.

An

his patrons the option of having their Bibles bound with or without this debatable matter, but the writer has never been able to find one that lacked it. In the subsequent editions of 1763 and 1776, while the Apocryphal matter was continued, the "Brief Compend," which had given rise to so much censure, appears to have been left out.

As to the typographical part of the first edition, too much credit cannot be given to all the parties who were concerned in its publication. An examination of one of the copies will show the use of several different fonts of type both in capitals and body type. The paper is of a good quality of domestic rag-paper. Here a difference will occasionally be noticed showing that the paper did not all come from the same maker.

The press work of all the copies examined by the writer was uniformly good, the impression sharp and clear, the type clean, the ink properly distributed, and the register perfect, while the text is remarkably free from misprints or typographical errors, thus showing a high order of proof-reading and supervision. From the signature imprints it would appear that four pages were printed at a time, the size of the type page being 9 x 6¼ inches.

All imperfect sheets were evidently destroyed, great care being taken to make every book a perfect copy. There is a tradition that one out of every ten was spoiled or had to be thrown out for some reason or another.[35]

The superficial statement has also been made by some too enthusiastic writers, that even the type with which the first Sauer Bible was printed was a domestic product made by the ingenious Sauer, and that the punches rather than the type were sent over by Dr. Ehrenfried Luther, without, however, stating the authority upon which their claims are based. One soi-disant historian has even gone so far as to

[35] This tradition is substantiated by a note at the bottom of the specimen type sheet issued by the German printer. *Vide* volume i, p. 349.

publish a picture of an old blacksmith's anvil, with the inscription, "Anvil on which matrices were forged for the type of the Saur Bible of 1743." This assertion is an unwarranted misstatement, independently of the fact that the delicate copper matrices for casting type are not forged on a blacksmith's anvil with a sledge-hammer.

As a matter of fact and in the interest of historical truth and accuracy, the writer will state that neither the elder Christopher Sauer nor his son ever cast a single piece of type. The first and second editions of the Sauer Bible were printed entirely with imported German type, as was also the greater part of the third edition, if not all. It is only toward the latter part of the New Testament of the 1776 edition that evidences of the occasional use of American type appear. The first attempt to cast type in Germantown was made about the year 1772 or 1773, and was evidently a venture of the sons of the second Christopher, in which enterprise Alexander Mack was also interested.

The proof of this statement is furnished by Alexander Mack himself, who composed a poem upon the occasion,—*Reim-Gedicht vor die Liebe Jugend.* This consisted of no less than one hundred stanzas, and it was set up with new type and published as No. 12, Vol. II, *Geistliches Magazien.* At the close he states: "*Gedruckt mit der ersten Schrift die jemals in America gegossen worden* (Printed with the first type ever cast in America)." A copy of this issue is in the library of the writer.

Two months after the first edition of Sauer's Bible was finished (October, 1743), Benjamin Franklin sent the Germantown printer a lot of English type for trial. Sauer's English printing does not appear to have been successful at that time, as we know of no English imprint of his press prior to 1749, when he issued an edition of Thomas à Kempis.

Sauer continued to buy his paper from Franklin, and, as

# Geistliches Magazien. Num. 12.

## Reim-Gedicht vor die liebe Jugend,

### Von der Schönheit.

**Melodie. Wo ist JEsus mein Verlangen?**

Unter schönen menschen-kindern Ist mein JEsus schön und fein,
Samt der Engel ganze schaar, Weichen, ehren und bedienen,

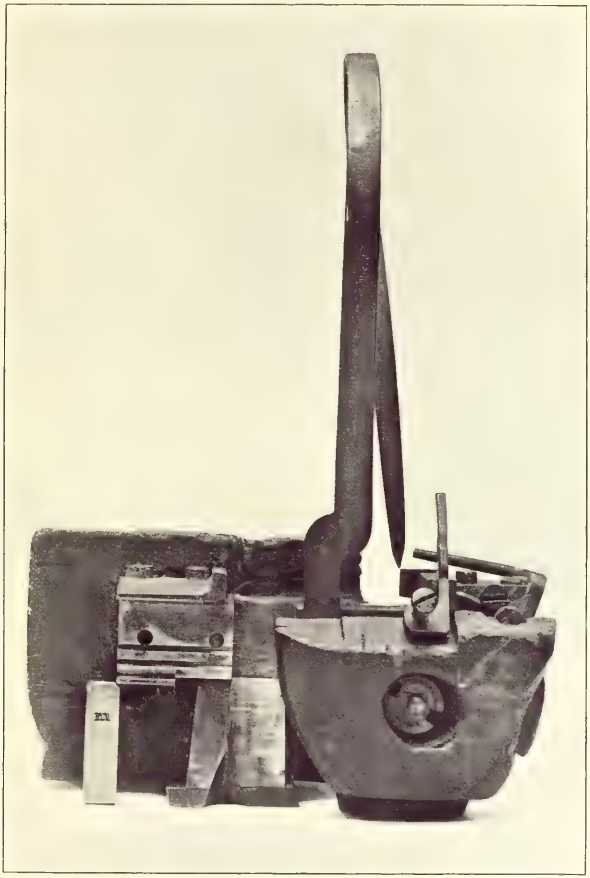
* * * * * * * * * *

Die der Schöpfer aller dinge, zu vermehren, Als dem armer staub und thon.
Aufsetzt seinem liebsten Sohn.

**Theophilus.**

Gedruckt mit der ersten Schrift die jemals in America gegossen worden.

HEADING AND COLOPHON OF THE FIRST SHEET PRINTED WITH DOMESTIC TYPE CAST ABOUT 1773.



HAND MOLD AND MATRIX.

AS USED IN CASTING FIRST GERMAN TYPE, GERMANTOWN, 1772-73.

ORIGINAL IN COLLECTION OF SAMUEL MACMENEY, ESQ., PHILA.

is shown by the latter's ledger, various amounts were charged to the Germantown printer between December 17, 1744, and April 15, 1748, until he finally was indebted to Benjamin Franklin to the sum of £66.1.0.

In the meantime Franklin conceived the idea of setting up a German printing-office in Philadelphia upon his own account. For this purpose he associated himself with Johann Böhm and later with the Armbrusters. The German type for this venture was obtained from Christopher Sauer, who having completed his Bible could well spare the letters, and thereby reduce his indebtedness by forty pounds. Upon page 48 we give a fac-simile of this interesting transaction. It is in the handwriting of Franklin and appears upon folio 43 of his Ledger "A," which is now in the collection of the American Philosophical Society.

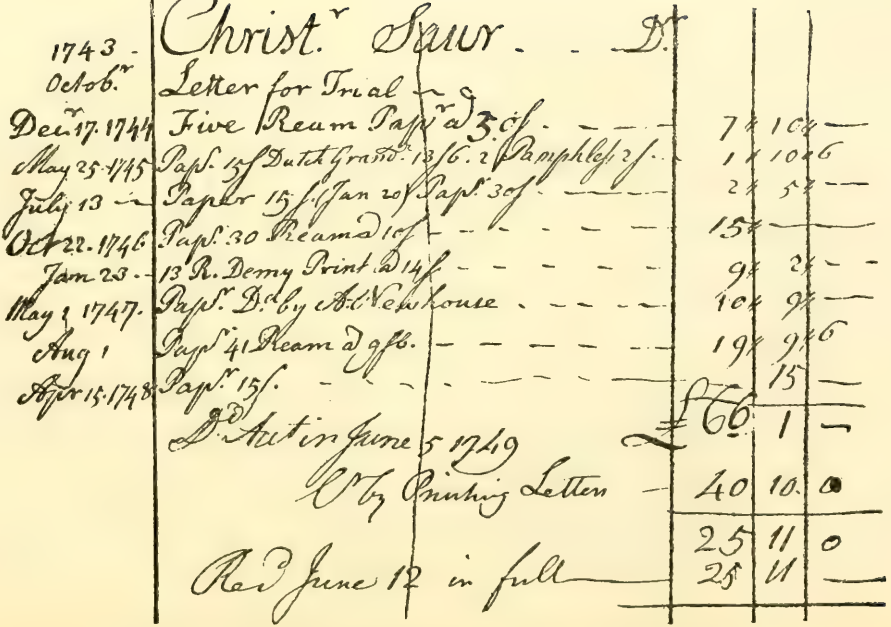


Seal of American Philosophical Society.

In a series of investigations instituted by the writer at various times, to gather all available facts bearing upon the issue of this pioneer edition of the Holy Writ, facts have presented themselves which seem to confirm the traditions of a co-operation of the Ephrata Brotherhood, in addition to such as had come to Germantown to help in the work. Some of these facts even appear to throw a shadow of doubt upon the accepted belief that this Bible was entirely a Germantown product.

The first definite evidence of any connection of the Brotherhood with Sauer's great venture, was the finding of the peculiar Ephrata watermark upon a few of the sheets, showing that at least some of the paper was made at the mill of the Brotherhood on the Cocalico.

This discovery led to a further search, and resulted in




From Franklin's Ledger, Original in the Collection of American Philosophical Society.

the finding of evidence, showing that the greater portion of this edition was bound and distributed from Ephrata under the supervision of Brother Jephune (Samuel Eckerlin).

In the issue of Sauer's paper for November, 1743, appears the following announcement:

Der Drucker machet bekant, weil er ſiehet, daß ſehr wenige ſind, welche ungebundene Bibeln begehren, u. er nicht ſo viel binden kan laſſen, als in dieſer kurtzen Zeit von ihm begehrt worden, ob man wohl gern jederman ſo gleich geholffen ſähe; Denjenigen welche nicht weit von Ephrata wohnen, die können gegen ihre Quittung und Zahlung des übrigen daſelbſt eine gebundene oder ungebundene Bibel finden, und die nicht Prænummerirt haben, die können auch daſelbſt finden, und beſtellen ſie, wie ſie ſie wollen gebunden haben, oder finden ſchon gebundene bey Samuel Eckerlin. Von dorten ſollen auch in die neue Stadt gebracht werden an H. Rieger Doct. Med. in Lanceſter. Nach der erſten Gelegenheit wird man auch gebundene in Neu-Yorck finden, wo ſie Prænummerirt, und ihre Quittung empfangen haben.

"The printer gives notice that he finds there are but few who desire unbound Bibles, and that he cannot have so many bound, nor as rapidly as they are demanded of him, though he would like to see every one satisfied. Those who do not live far from Ephrata can procure their Bibles bound or unbound, by presenting their receipts and a payment of the balance. And such as have not subscribed can also find them there, and order them bound as they desire, or get them already bound of Samuel Eckerlin.

"From thence the new city will also be supplied by H. Rieger, Doct. Med., in Lancaster.

"At the first opportunity bound Bibles will also be sent to New York for such as have subscribed and have their receipts."

From the above we are led to infer that either the whole edition, or at least the greater part of the sheets, was at

Ephrata and was bound there. Now, the question arises, in view of this advertisement and the finding of the peculiar watermark of the Brotherhood upon some of the sheets, were any of the sheets printed at Ephrata? and if so, was it not the Appendix, which is in different type from the rest of the text?

Then, again, how did it happen that the edition, or so large a portion of it, came to the Ephrata bindery? We know that it consisted of no less than twelve hundred copies. Each set of sheets weighed about five pounds, making a total in round numbers of six thousand pounds, or about 60 cwt. of freight. The means of transportation were then very crude and limited to the lumbering four-wheeled box wagon, which was the forerunner of the Conestoga wagon. The roads were primitive, mere dirt lanes, without bridges over streams or rivers. To move so great a quantity of paper back and forth without injury, be it either printed or blank, was a task of no mean magnitude.

As Lancaster county was the chief stronghold of the Separatists, so the largest demand for the new Bible naturally came from that center. Johann Friedrich Rieger, who was appointed the agent at Lancaster city, did a thriving business, and so great was the demand for a time for finished copies, that it exceeded the supply as well as the capacity of the Ephrata bindery. Sauer, to help Rieger out of the difficulty, returned a number of bound Bibles to Lancaster and inserted the following notice in his paper, of February 16, 1744:

"Because they at Ephrata cannot bind so many Bibles as are ordered from Herr Rieger at Lancaster, so we give notice that bound volumes will be sent thither immediately."

Two months later (April 16, 1744) another notice informs the puplic that the supply was now equal to the demand:

"At Herr Jacob Friedrich Rieger's in the new city of

"Lancaster there are now to be had Bibles in different "bindings and prices."

An agency for the sale of these Bibles was also opened in New York and in the Jerseys. The former was in charge of one Jacob Bember, and after his death was continued by his widow.

The continued attacks by Mühlenberg and other clergymen upon the orthodoxy of the new American Bible, now since the correction of the title-page, were based upon the introduction of the Berleburg text in the nineteenth chapter of the Book of Job, and upon the Brief Compend at the end

24. Mit einem eiſernen griffel auf bley, und zum
ewigen gedächtniß in einen felß gehauen würden!
25. Ja ich weiß, daß mein Erlöſer lebet, und
er wird der letzte über den ſtaub ſich aufmachen:
[Kut. J]U. er wird mich hernach aus dererden auferwecken.
26. Und nachdem ich werde erwachen, ſo werden
dieſe dinge abgelegt ſeyn, und ich werde in meinem
fleiſche GOtt ſchauen.
(Luther) Und werde darnach mit dieſer meiner haut umgeben werden, und werde in meinem fleiſch GOtt ſehen.
27. Denſelben werde ich vor mich ſchauen, und
meine augen werden es ſehen, und nicht was frembdes. Meine nieren ſind verzehret in meinem ſchooß.
(Luth.) Denſelben werde Ich mir ſehen, und meine augen werden ihn ſchauen, und kein fremder. Meine nieren ſind verzehret in meinem ſchooß.
28. Denn ihr ſprechet: Wie wollen wir ihn verfolgen, und eine ſache zu ihm finden?
29. Fürchtet euch vor dem ſchwerdt: denn das
ſchwerdt iſt der zorn über die miſſethat, auf daß ihr
wiſſet, daß ein gericht ſey.

of the work. A *fac-simile* of the objectionable matter in the text is here presented, and, as, will be seen, was merely inserted by way of comparison, to show the difference in translation between the Luther and Piscator versions.

These attacks led Sauer to print the following explanation in his Almanac of 1744:

"Those who have paid something in advance upon the Bible (*praenummerirt*), also others who desire one, but have paid nothing down, and have perhaps from the pulpit, or elsewhere, heard that the Bible which was printed at Germantown is false, and not according to Luther's translation, and whatever has not been said; such are informed that it is now printed and lies open to the eyes of all men who desire to see it; that it is as we promised, namely, according to the Halle [version]. Any however, who wish to prove that the same is not Luther's own work, will make themselves useless trouble.

"It is too bad that, with all the war and strife in the realm of nature and of the church, any one should now want to dispute the correctness of the translation, wherein the God of Peace has made known his will unto us.

"Assuredly, we should have remained entirely quiet, and not called attention to it, if it did not concern anything more than any other natural work. To the carnal man there is much in the Bible that is not pleasant to him and he would that it sounded differently, so that it would suit him. But when he is once placed in doubt, whether this or that letter be true or false, what good can come out of this? We will, however, state in advance that an adversary in his own defence can offer as an objection, that we have inserted the third and fourth books of Ezra, and the third of Maccabees, which are not of Luther's translation.

"To all such our answer is: In the Halle Bibles of 1708, these books were printed, but not in the thirty-fourth edition. Had they been inserted we should have continued them.

"We used the third and fourth Ezra from the Berleburg Bible, which has such a text and translation as one would suppose even a child would become interested in, if he had but the merest divine spark within him. It must be remembered that whosoever does not approve of these, need only give the order and they will not be inserted.

"Another matter to be remembered, namely: as we were

even busy printing the book of Job, we learned that a certain great preacher publickly said: That with the single exception of the verse, 'I know that my Redeemer liveth,' the whole book of Job was not worth reading.'

"One should now consider this book the more, as Job was a man, of whom even the Devil gave personal testimony; which of many a preacher he neither could nor would do! We see that Job represents a man who was truly righteous, and his righteous God turned him to dust, so that of the human righteousness of which he knows, nought remains. But at last the new man is awakened from the dust. Further, as Luther's translation points merely to the resurrection of the flesh, so we have preferred Piscator's translation, and have paralleled it with Luther's. Now this is all that any adversary of our Bible will have to object to.

"It is so much the easier to pardon our accusers, because many of them have not yet seen our edition of the Bible, but only know it from hearsay. If they once see it, and compare it word for word, they will soon be of a different mind and say: It is not corrupt, but we are.

"In our Almanac for 1742 we mentioned that if any one wished to contribute, so that the cost of the Bible edition might be reduced, or toward a less price for the poor, or even that it might be given away, we would make a public acknowledgement. To make this promise good, we announce that H——ch H——l has contributed for the poor seven shillings.

"From Germany a Christian soul, led by a high hand, ordered a contribution furthering the printing of the Bible, but as the same made hardly any impression, we added according to our own means, and lowered the price from fourteen to twelve shillings, at which price it remains unbound, which may be done according to one's means. J. A. R. prepaid for seven copies to present the same to seven indigent German servants in his service. A good example.

"Whoever have prepaid can give their order as to whether the volumes are to be sent unbound or bound, and how, whether in sheep-skin or calf-skin, studded or not. We will do or leave as ordered, as soon as possible."

Acrimonious as were the disputes between Mühlenberg and Sauer, they were mild in comparison with those between the Germantown printer and Rev. Caspar Ludwig Schnorr, the Reformed pastor at Lancaster, who also for a time served the Tulpehocken charge. The latter attacked the orthodoxy of the Sauer Bible even more vehemently than did his Lutheran compeer in Philadelphia. And as the chief demand for the Sauer version came from Lancaster county, Schnorr's persistent attacks struck the printer in his most vital spot. This caused the controversy to become exceedingly bitter. Some of these charges and countercharges appeared in print. A specimen, both pro and con, will suffice as an illustration.

Rev. Caspar Ludwig Schnorr, in his report to the Classis of Amsterdam, dated March 15, 1745, urges the necessity for an immediate filling of his previously made requisitions for Bibles, and that they be sent him without delay, so that he may distribute them. In his report he says:

"The promised Bibles are now the more necessary as the arch sect-master,[36] by the name of Sauer in Germantown, two hours from Philadelphia, makes himself heard in his printed Almanac, as follows: The Book of Job would not be worth reading if it were not for the words 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' And above this he calls all Universities 'institutions of the Devil.' From this we may plentifully perceive how he falsifies the whole Bible.

"Consequently upon all occasions I preach against it, and caution my hearers not to purchase it, as I have the gracious promise of the Honorable Classis that they will send me a number of Bibles for distribution."

[36] Strange as it may appear, Christopher Sauer, who is designated as an "arch sect-master," and as opposing everything orthodox, and yet was so closely allied with the Eckerlins of the Mystical Zionitic Brotherhood, at the same time was perhaps the first anti-Mason in America, because it was claimed that they opposed the orthodox church. Sauer not only denounced the Free-masons, but published what he called an "Exposé of their Rites and Mysteries."

When these continued attacks of Schnorr and others came to the knowledge of Sauer, and the demand for his Bibles fell off to a perceptible degree in Lancaster county, he printed the following announcement in his newspaper:

"It is no secret how many Germans, unknown to themselves, have for a long time in America been forced to listen to and help themselves with certain preachers. We are certainly neither an enemy nor a hater of a single one, as the more miserable a creature is, the more compassion and pity we owe unto it. A year ago about this time we received reliable information from Germany, that more of this kind, who were driven from their native place for immorality, intended to seek service in this country. We owe the duty unto God and all men now to publish this warning, as by vicious teachers the ignorant are made worse, and angered, and enticed to disputes and dissension, rather than benefited.

"Especially is this the case with the youthful and careless (*leichtsinnige*) hearers, who look more to the life and behaviour of the preacher than to the truths that he preaches unto them.

"Soon after came Caspar Schnorr, who acted as if he were right (*getroffen*). So is any one, be he the greatest sinner in Europe or here, if he repent from his wicked ways. Then the latter shall not be remembered by God and all his children in Eternity, just as when a righteous man doth turn from his righteousness (which he hath done) he shall not be remembered. Ezekiel iii, 20; Luc. xv, 10.

"The dear man, however, in place of bettering himself, thought to revenge himself upon Sauer, but commenced at the wrong end. He preached in Dulpehacken [*sic*] and other places: That the Germantown Bible was false, one should beware of it (as many of his hearers declare). Now if the dear man had abused Sauer in every manner and painted him with the great black tail (*bensel*) of Satan, Sauer would never have answered a word in his own justification. Now, however, as he has proclaimed the Bible as false and has published it, he will have to answer unto God. May he be merciful and gracious unto him, when he repents of his other sins and vices,

and supplicates unto God for mercy, and experiences it. Then it will be an easy task for him publicly to recall what he has thus far proclaimed.

"It is usual when one tells the truth that they are hated by the opposers of truth. Therefore he is not the only one who has prostituted himself in this manner.

"But we hear similar expressions from the east to the west, so far as German settlers live upon these 400 miles. A well-known man, who lately travelled through Virginia, met with a widow, who told him how she ran her large plantation, with much cattle, etc., all in fine order. The man said to her: 'My dear woman, have you also sought for the salvation of your soul?' Her answer was, 'that here one lived far away from all preachers and churches, and the vicinity was seldom visited by any preacher.' The man said: 'Do you read in the Bible, and pray to God for understanding, examine your life accordingly and pray unto God for strength and spirit, etc?' She answered, 'I have no Bible, and do not know how to to obtain any.' The man said: 'Why they are printed in Germantown, and are to be had in Philadelphia, Lancaster, etc.' She made this answer: 'The preacher who was last here said that they were false.' 'This is not so,' answered the man. The woman rejoined: 'The preacher certainly ought to know.' And thus the whole land is deceived, except in a few places where the hearers have learned better.

"Now what shall we say to this? It would surely be a sign that no honest motive induced the printing of our Bible if the Devil did not oppose it, and so stupidly have his servants done

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[37] (*Vide* p. 45 *supra*) It is not known which of the sons were interested in the experimental type foundry; tradition mentions Christopher and Peter,—all indications point in that direction. Also that the matrices, punches and moulds were saved from seizure during the Revolution. It is said they were carted to a farm near Phœnixville and there hidden until after the war, when they were again brought into use by Samuel Sauer, born March 20, 1767, the youngest son of the deceased Christopher, and who, on account of his youth, escaped banishment after the Revolution. He set up a small press at Chestnut Hill, removed to Philadelphia, 1794, Baltimore, 1795, where he became prominent as a publisher and type founder.

this, that they have forgotten their natural honor, and did not remember that proof might be demanded of them. If such persons had to contend with their equals, they would cut a sorry figure before court. We trust that they hereby will acknowledge that they need conversion far more than the Indians, who would never be guilty of similar actions. If, however, they conclude to continue in their course, we will then advise their simple-minded hearers of the necessity of weighing every word they hear, whether it be true or not, as men are permitted to stand in the pulpit in the presence of God and before so many human faces and wickedly lie.

"It is unquestionably a righteous teacher's desire and manner, joy and pleasure, when he, out of the good treasures of his heart can bring forth old and new, and prove the same by the Word of God and afterwards realize that his hearers have found improvement therein, and are ever eager for the true unadulterated milk, as those did at Berea, who searched the Scriptures every day to see if it was as Paul had said.

"To the contrary, it is to Satan's great advantage that the Bible be first taken out of the hands of the inexperienced before he sends his false teachers, as then they can make the people believe what they like, just as in the Papacy, when they cannot make search for themselves."

When Christopher Sauer had completed his great undertaking, and the demand was in a fair way of being supplied, he sent a number of copies to Germany. They were consigned to Dr. Ehrenfried Luther in Frankfort, and were to be used by him as an offering of gratitude, to be distributed among such persons as had contributed towards the publication of the work.

There appears to be some uncertainty as to the number of copies sent abroad, as well as the vicissitudes experienced by the consignment before it reached the hands of the rightful party. According to one account the consignment was shipped by Christopher Sauer, December 5, 1743, by the ship *Queen of Hungary*, Captain Joseph Faulkner, master.

The vessel, after an uneventful voyage, when near the headland of St. Malo, is said to have been attacked by French and Spanish pirates, which ended with the capture of the ship and cargo. The booty, according to this account, was sold by the freebooters, who, it appears, disposed of the case of Bibles for four Rix dollars.

Further, it was not until a year or two after this occurrence that Dr. Luther learned of the whereabouts of the lost consignment. He at once wrote to the person who had bought the books, who proved but too willing to get rid of his profitless bargain, so that he lost no time in turning them over to Dr. Luther for what he had paid for them.

That the above tradition about Sauer's consignment of Bibles to Germany, which is the one usually accepted and has been repeatedly printed, fails to state the case correctly, is shown by the advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November, 1744, wherein notice is given of the sailing of the very ship said to have been captured by the pirates of St. Malo, also by the date in some of the dedications found in the presentation copies sent by Dr. Luther, which give the dates both of 1744 and 1745.

The advertisement sets forth:

For *London* directly,
The Brigg. QUEEN of HUNGARY,
Burthen 150 Tons JOSEPH FALKNAR Maſter is now a taking in Goods, and
WILL ſail in 30 Days. She is a good ſailing Veſſel, and good Accommodations for Paſſengers. For Freight or Paſſage, agree with *John Hopkins*, or ſaid Commander at *Hopkins*'s Wharf.
*September* 16. 1744.

Now, if the vessel had been captured early in 1744, she would hardly have returned to Philadelphia in time to make another passage in September of the same year. Then again assuming that the books were sent out on this trip, the dates in the dedications would fail to agree. Con-

sequently we shall have to relegate this oft-told tale of the American Bibles and their miraculous restoration to the limbo of myth, together with other similar stories, such as that of the fiery messengers, etc., seen in the clouds of the seventeenth century.

However, be this as it may, when the consignment of Germanton Bibles came into the possession of Dr. Luther, he had a Latin dedication printed, the wording of which appears to have been changed in some cases to suit the standing of the recipient. One of these sheets he added to each copy.

*Sanctum Hunc Codicem* | *in* | *India Occidentali* | *nullo plane Exemplo* | *et* | *Nec Anglico, nec Batavo, nec alio quovis idiomate* | *ante hac* | *Nuper vero Germanico* | *Primum et quidem Typis Officinæ suæ* | *favente numine* | *Excusum* | *Splendidæ Hujus Civitatis* | *Bibliothecæ* | *Dono Dat* | *H. E. Luther J. U. D et C. W. A.* | *Francofurti quod ad Manum est* | *Kalendis Junii, MDCCXLIV.* | *1744.*

Dr. Luther retained one copy for his own library; the others, according to an original memorandum still found in one of these Bibles, were distributed as follows: St. Petersburg, Stockholm, Copenhagen, Berlin, Hanover, Dresden, Gotha, Weimar, Brunswick, Cassel and Stuttgart.

It is not known where these presentation copies were bound. As the work was all finely done, tooled and gilded, and some ornamented with heraldic emblazonment of the recipient, it is but fair to infer that they were sent to Germany in a rough state, viz.: *planiert* (stitched and glued), and were then bound either by Dr. Luther or by the parties to whom they were given. This theory is strengthened by the fact that all the specimens are still in the original bindings, no two of which, so far as the writer has been able to discover, are exactly alike, the variation being in the leather used and in the ornamental tooling. The latter was varied in the different copies according to the



SANCTUM HUNC CODICEM
IN
*INDIA OCCIDENTALI*
NULLO PLANE EXEMPLO
ET
NEC ANGLICO, NEC BATAVO, NEC ALIO QUOVIS IDIOMATE
*ANTE HAC*
NUPER VERO GERMANICO
*PRIMUM, ET QUIDEM TYPIS OFFICINÆ SUÆ,*
FAVENTE NUMINE, EXCUSUM,
TUM OB NOVITATIS TUM PEREGRINITATIS GRATIAM
ILLUSTR. DOM. DOM. HERM. CAROLI KEYSERLINGK
S. R. I. COMITIS, S. C. M. AUTOCRATRICIS RUSSICÆ
MAGNÆ
ELISABETHÆ PETROWNÆ
CONSILIARII INTIMI, EJUSDEMQUE NULLO ITIDEM EXEMPLO AD DIÆTAM
ELECTIONIS IMPERATORIÆ FRANCOFURTI HOC ANNO HABITAM
TUM ET COMITIA S. R. IMPERII
ABLEGATI
NEC NON EQUITIS ORDINIS AQUILÆ ALBÆ, STAROSTI DE POLANGEN,
DOMINI HÆREDITARII DE GROS ET KLEIN BLUHDEN,
FRIDRICHSHOFF, BYDGOST, FORDAN ETC.
*BIBLIOTHECÆ*
IN MEMORIAM HABITATIONIS, QUA ÆDES SUAS PER PLURES MENSES HONORAVIT,
*DESTINABAT,*
HENR. EHRENFRIED LUTHER, J. U. D. & C. W. A.

*Francofurti quod ad Mœnum eſt,*
Kalend. Decembris MDCCXLV.

DEDICATORY PAGE IN THE GERMANTOWN BIBLE IN ROYAL LIBRARY AT STUTTGART.



THE SAUER BIBLE IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY AT STUTTGART.

fancy of the binder, and according to whom the copy was intended for. Thus the copy presented to William VIII, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, has a Hessian Lion and the initials W. L. stamped in gold within the centre panel.

By royal command, a photograph of the copy in the royal library at Stuttgart was furnished to the writer for this work. The original, which is splendidly preserved, is bound in old English calf, the sections of the back are embellished with small gilt tooling, while the front and back covers are ornamented with a centre panel formed of a neat design in blind tooling. Unfortunately a white paper label has been pasted over the lettering on the back, otherwise the book is in its original condition.

A photograph (reduced) is shown upon another page. Accompanying this photograph was one of the printed dedications from Dr. H. E. Luther to Count Herman Karl Keyserlinck.

There were no facilities at the Ephrata bindery at that day for producing fine bindings or tooling. Gilding was a piece of vanity not indulged in, nor is any specimen of an early Pennsylvania German imprint known to the writer which was extravagantly bound or gilded. Without exception the bindings were selected with a view to strength, utility and hard use.

By an advertisement in Sauer's paper we are informed that one Johannes Schuppi, a bookbinder from Hamburg, had lately come from Germany and established himself in Philadelphia. This person, no doubt, was a practical craftsman competent to produce finished work. If any of the presentation copies sent to Dr. Luther were bound in this country, they were evidently done by this workman; yet this is mere surmise, as no distinctive specimen of his handiwork is known to have come down to us. That he was not kept busy at his trade is shown by subsequent advertisements, wherein he offers to give lessons in German

and French at his house in Strawberry alley, as well as to bind old and new books.

Before closing this chapter on Christopher Sauer and his Bible, let us look at the time it took to dispose of his edition. According to his own statement the edition consisted of twelve hundred copies, which was a very large one for that day. Allowing him a subscription list of say two hundred copies, it left him with an edition of one thousand copies to sell. Now, strange to say, it took just about that many weeks to dispose of the lot, notwithstanding the liberal amount of advertising which the edition received from pulpit and press, both favorable and adverse. The opposition of his enemies did, perhaps, as much toward bringing the Bible into notice as the announcements of the printer. Yet, with all this, the sales appear not to have averaged over about one a week. Sauer in his paper for January 16, 1746, states the situation as follows:

"Because we have heard from persons that they were made to believe that no more Germantown Bibles were to be had, we now announce that our whole edition consisted of 1200 copies, and that scarcely a fourth part has been called for, consequently there are still many hundreds to be had. Of the New Testament there are also still at least 1200 on hand, and a Psalter is being prepared[38] in a convenient form for children to learn to read. Otherwise they are at the service of anyone at a low price."

Another curious fact is that the first edition of the Sauer Bible was not exhausted until about five years after the death of the printer.[39]

The proof for this statement is found in the Almanac

[38] *Der Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids Verteutscht, von D. Martin Luther, mit jedes Capitels Kurtzen Summarien auch beygefügten veilen richtigen Parallelen. Germantown, gedruckt und zu finden by Christoph Saur. 1746. 24mo. Pp. 252.*

[39] Christophher Sauer died September 25, 1758.

for 1763, published by his son and successor Christopher Sauer:

"As the Bibles printed nineteen years ago in Germantown are now sold, and there are no more to be had, we have decided that our part of the world is not to be without this excellent Book, and we have already supplied ourselves with a quantity of good paper, and have made a commencement with a new edition of such a Quarto Bible as the preceding one.

"We are also resolved to make it according to the best of our ability, and the very best in all parts, and to eradicate as much as possible all errata which crept into the former edition; also to add an appendix, so that these Bibles shall not be inferior to any of similar size coming from Europe. In paper and binding they will be far superior. As this is a great undertaking, and we cannot obtain journeymen just as we would wish, so the lovers of this Book of Books will have to exercise a little patience until the close of this year 1763, as none are to be expected any sooner."

The courage and determination of the elder Sauer,—pluck it would be called at the present day,—is further exemplified by his resolve to print a separate edition of the New Testament, at the time when the opposition of the orthodox clergy to his Bible venture was yet at the highest pitch.

This version of the New Testament was a duodecimo, and sold at prices ranging from 3 shillings 6d. to 6 shillings 6d., according to the style of binding.

This was intended to be a pocket edition, which should be in the hands of every German servant in the land, whereas the Bible was intended to be strictly a *Hausbibel.* The other was for the uses of such persons, male and female, as had no home or family of their own. In this new enterprise, undertaken in the very face of most violent opposition, and while his finished Bibles were stored at Germantown and Ephrata awaiting purchasers, Christopher Sauer came into direct competition with the Halle and Amsterdam Testa-

Das Neue

# Testament

Unsers

Herrn und Heylandes

## JEsu Christi,

Verteutscht

Von

**D. Martin Luther.**

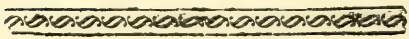
Wie

Jedes Capitels kurtzen

**Summarien,**

Auch beygefügten vielen richtigen

**Parallelen.**



**Germantown:**

gedruckt und zu finden bey Christoph Saur. 1745.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST SEPARATE EDITION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT PRINTED IN AMERICA IN A EUROPEAN LANGUAGE.

ments which were sent over to America for distribution by the clergy. The title of this book was also rubricated similar to the Bible.

The following curious preface followed the title, and, judging from the appended initials, was evidently the printer's own composition:

# Vorrede.

Nicht ohne sonderbahre Schickung und Vorsehung GOttes ists geschehen, daß Lutherus die Bücher des Alten und Neuen Testaments in unsere Teutsche Sprache übersetzt hat, wodurch der Wille GOttes an uns, zu unserm Besten vermittelst der Druckereyen, in viel tausend mahl tausend Stücken sind ausgebreitet worden unter die menschen in dieser gegenwärtig Volckreichen Welt.

Es kommt dann auch in diesem Welt-Theil das Neue Testament aparte in Teutscher Sprache zum ersten mahl heraus, zum Dienst und Gebrauch vor Kinder und Erwachsene, damit sich gutwillige Seelen an denen herrlichen Lehren und Zeugnissen ergötzen, erfreuen und GOtt verherrlichen mögen; und zu gleich auch den ruchlosse etwa gegen ihren Willen, bey gelegenheit die Zeugnisse an ihre Seelen ergehen mögen zum Gericht, damit sie weder in der Zeit noch in der Ewigkeit keine Entschuldigung haben mögen. Ist nun eines Menschen Testament und Wille von solcher Art und Wichtigkeit, daß es nicht nur zu seiner Zeit soll bekant gemacht, sondern auch gehalten und vollzogen werden, so ist gewißlich der Wille GOttes, der ganze menschliche Geschlecht, der durch den Tod Christi bestätiget und versiegelt ist, tausend, ja unaussprechlich mahl nützlicher und wichtiger, in Ansehung der ewigen Güter und Erbtheils, deren, die da glaubig und Kinder GOttes werden.

Der ewig-gütige GOtt segne sein Werck, und schreibe sein Gesetz, Bund, Willen und Testament kräfftig in aller, ja aller Hertzen, sein bald wie er verheissen hat. Ihm sey nem Lob, Preyß und Ehre. Amen.

C. S.

PREFACE TO TESTAMENT PRINTED AT GERMANTOWN, 1745.

"It has not happened without God's singular direction and providence that Luther translated the books of the Old and New Testaments into our German tongue; whereby God's wills unto us, given for our benefit, are by means of the art of printing, in many thousand times thousand copies, distributed among the peoples in this well populated world. It also happens that in this hemisphere the New Testament is now issued separately in the German tongue for the first time for the use of children and adults, so that willing souls may enjoy and find delight in the glorious teachings and testimonies and glorify God. And concerning the dissolute, may it be the means, when opportunity offers, of causing the testimony to enter into their souls in judgment, so they may have no excuse either in time or eternity.

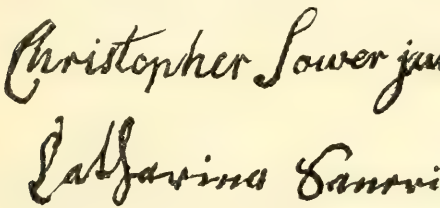
"Now if a man's testament and will is of such importance and kind, that it is not alone to be published at the right time, but is also to be kept and executed, certainly the will of God toward the whole human race, certified and sealed by the death of Christ, is a thousand, yea inexpressible times more important and useful in view of the everlasting riches and inheritance to such as believe and become children of God.

"May the ever loving God bless his work and write his laws, covenant, desires and testaments firmly in many, yea, in all hearts, and quickly, as he hath promised for His glory, praise and honor.—Amen. C. S."

By a reference to the notice published by the printer in January, 1764, previously quoted, it will be seen that the same lethargy which manifested itself in the demand for the quarto Bible also applied to the new edition of the Testament, wherein he states that there are at least 1200 copies on hand, and this out of an edition variously estimated to have been from twelve to fifteen hundred.

Christopher Sauer the younger, who succeeded his father as a printer and published the second and third editions of the Germantown Bible, was a bookbinder by trade, and became a prominent figure in the original Dunker congregation at Germantown. He was baptized when only sixteen

years of age (February 24, 1737), and ten years later (May, 1747) he was made a deacon. On June 7, 1748, both he and Alexander Mack, who had left the Zionitic Brotherhood, were ordained as Elders (on probation). Five years later (June 10, 1753) both men were fully inducted into



AUTOGRAPHS OF CHRISTOPHER SAUER (2d) AND WIFE CATHARINA.

office by the laying on of hands. An interesting incident in the career of both of these men was that each performed the marriage ceremony for the other.

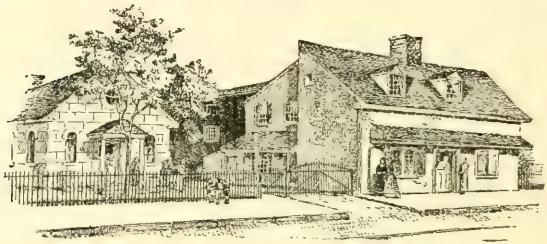
Alexander Mack (Theophilus, Brother Timotheus of the Ephrata Community) it appears overcame his profession of celibacy, discarded the tonsure, recanted his Zionitic vows, and fell a victim to the charms of Elizabeth Neiss in 1749, Elder Sauer officiating. Two years later Mack performed the same office for him when the Germantown printer espoused Catharina Sharpnack.

Elder Sauer died August 26, 1784, poor and among strangers. His wife had died during the Revolutionary war; now his family was scattered, his estate and property confiscated and sold,[40] and his last days were passed,

[40] By a strange coincidence, during the American Revolution, when Christopher Sauer, the son of the pioneer printer, was arrested by the patriot forces as a spy and traitor, he appealed for intercession and mercy to Gen. Peter Mühlenberg, a son of the very man whom both he and his father had so persistently maligned in their paper and almanac. The appeal was not in vain. Gen. Mühlenberg magnanimously presented his petition to Washington and interceded for him; thus the misguided printer's life was saved. His property, however, was confiscated and he

an object of charity, in a little hovel over the spring-house of Conrad Stamn at Methacton, his only attendant being his faithful daughter Catharine. In contrast to this dark picture we have several of his children enjoying upon foreign shores the reward of their treason to their native land.[41]

A brazen tablet has lately been erected in the old Dunker sanctuary at Germantown—Beggarstown no longer, but now



DUNKER CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, GERMANTOWN.

a part of the great metropolis of the Keystone State—to the memory of both the Sauers, father and son. This memorial was unveiled with much ceremony upon the first day of January, 1899, and forms a fitting monumental record to the memory of the two men who were instrumental in printing the first German Bibles and Testaments in America.

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was released on parole, conditioned that he would not return to Germantown until after the departure of the enemy. Two of his sons left with the British and went to England to reap the reward of their treason. All of the Mühlenbergs were patriots and prominent in the establishment of the American Republic.

[41] Christopher Sauer (3d) was then King's printer and deputy postmaster general for Nova Scotia. Peter Sauer, another son, held some position in the West Indies. Both were so-called loyalist refugees.



## CHAPTER II.

### MAGISTER JOHANNES HILDEBRAND.



Wappen von Marburg.

PROMINENT among the members of the Ephrata Brotherhood who sojourned at Germantown during the printing of the Sauer Bible and took an active part in the work was Johannes Hildebrand, father-in-law of Valentine Mack, who, it will be recollected, was the most prominent man among the secular congregation or householders at Ephrata. In addition to being a fluent preacher and active exhorter, he was an adept in Jacob Boehme's theosophy, as may be seen by a reference to his works here enumerated. As a delegate to the Pennsylvania Synods he upheld the superiority of virgin life. How he with his associates withdrew from the third conference has already been narrated.

When the dispute with the Moravians was at its height, he not only took up his pen and wrote several pamphlets against the Zinzendorf party, but also supervised the printing of several polemical essays by members of the Zionitic

Brotherhood, wherein was championed the cause, policy and discipline of the institution on the Cocalico, and the course and teachings were denounced of the new religious propaganda in the Province which had established itself at Bethlehem.

From the notices in the Ephrata records it appears that these various polemical tractates were prepared by order of, or at the request of, Beissel, and were not all the work of Johannes Hildebrand, as has been erroneously stated:

"He [Beissel] summoned a Brother [Jaebez, Rev. Peter Miller][41] and commanded him to compose a writing, and to sharply rebuke these people because of their disorderly lives and carnal passion for making proselytes. The Brother soon had it finished and brought him a sketch, which he sanctioned; but observed that he might have been more severe; the Brother accordingly added more salt.

"The Brother Prior embraced this occasion to free himself again, because he had too freely communicated with them, and added a supplement not less biting. But that was not all, for a housefather, by the name of Hildebrand, brought still another supplement, in which he laboriously proved that the married state originated in the fall of man." (*Chron. Eph.*, p. 129.)

These anti-Moravian pamphlets are now excessively rare: the reproductions of our title-pages are from the copies in possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, unless otherwise noted. Two of them were advertised by Sauer in the April and September (1743) issues of his newspaper as printed and sold by him at 11*d.* and 6*d.* respectively. This fact, taken together with the printer's refusal to print any controversial matter for the Moravians, shows that the Germantown printer was still more or less in accord with the Ephrata institution, notwithstanding the rupture with Beissel, and that his wife was now sub-prioress in the Con-

[41] The style and temperate argument of the pamphlet would appear to verify this tradition.

vent of Kedar. The title-pages of these curious tractates are:

*Mistisches* | *und* | *Kirchliches* | *Zeuchnüsz* | *Der Brüderschaft* | *In* | *Zion, Von den wichtigsten Puncten des* | *Christenthums* | *Nebst einem Anhang* | *darinnen dieselbe ihr unpartheyisches* | *Bedencken an Tag gibt von dem Bekehrungs-* | *Werck der sogenanten Herrenhutischen* | *Gemeine in Pennsylvanien, und* | *warum man ihnen keine Kir-* | *che zustehen könne.* | *Germantown, Gedruckt und zu finden bey C. Saur, 1743.*

[Translation.—Mystical and Churchly Testimony of the Brotherhood in Zion, about the most important points in Christianity. Together with an appendix wherein the above give their impartial consideration unto the light of day concerning the Missionary work of the so-called Moravian congregation in Pennsylvania, and why we cannot permit them the use of a church. Germantown: Printed and to be found at Christopher Sauer, 1743.]

*Ein* | *Kurtzer Bericht* | *Von den Ursachen, warum die Gemein-* | *schafft in Ephrata sich mit dem Graffen Zinzen-* | *dorff und seinen Leuten eingelassen:* | *Und* | *wie sich eine so grosse Ungleichheit* | *im Ausgang der Sachen auf* | *beyden Seiten befunden.*

[Translation.—A short account of the causes why the community at Ephrata negotiated with Count Zinzendorf and his people. And how at the end there existed so great differences upon both sides.]

*Schrifftmässiges* | *Zeuchnüss* | *Von dem* | *Himmlischen und Jungfräulichen* | *Gebährungs-Werck,* | *Wie es an dem ersten Adam ist mit* | *Fleisch zugeschlossen, aber an dem zweyten* | *Adam bey seiner Creutzigung durch* | *einen Speer wiederum ge-* | *öffnet worden.* | *Entgegen gesetzt* | *Dem gantz ungegründeten Vorgeben* | *der Herrenhuthischen Gemeine von ei-* | *nem heiligen Ehestand, daraus Sie* | *das Ebenbild Gottes aus-zugebähren vorgeben.* | *Ans Licht ge-*

*MISTISCHES*
und
Kirchliches
Beuchnüß
Der Brüderschaft
In
ZION,
Von den wichtigsten Puncten des Christenthums

Nebst einem Anhang
darinnen dieselbe ihr unpartheyisches Bedencken an Tag gibt von dem Bekehrungs-Werck der sogenanten Herrenhutischen Gemeine in Pennsylvanien, und warum man ihnen keine Kirche zustehen könne.

Germantown, Gedruckt und zu finden bey C. Saur, 1743

TESTIMONY AGAINST THE MORAVIANS PREPARED BY BROTHER JABEZ AT THE REQUEST OF BEISSEL.

Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

# Ein Kurtzer Bericht

## von den Urſachen, warum die Gemeinſchafft in Ephrata ſich mit dem Graffen Zinzendorff und ſeinen Leuten eingelaſſen: Und wie ſich eine ſo groſſe Ungleichheit im Ausgang der Sachen auf beyden Seiten befunden.

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MAn kan vor erſt ſo viel ſagen: Weilen eine ſo groſſe geiſtliche Trunckenheit von ſo vielen Babels Lehren in jetzigen Zeiten ſo häuffig im Schwang gehet: So hat man ſich genöthigt gefunden, ſeine Ohren von all ſolchem Gehörey abzukehren, und ſeines Fuſſes in der Stille vor GOtt wahr zu nehmen. In ſolcher Arbeit ſtunde nun freylich Vielen Liebleins worden, und iſt mit vielen ſchmählichen Urtheilen häuffig beladen worden, ſo daß man wenig Recht mehr behalten, ſich auf einige Weiſe mit Menſchen einzulaſſen.

Als nun das Anerbiethen und Vorgeben dieſer Leuten im gantzen Lande bekannt gemacht, und von allen Partheyen Einige zuſammen zukommen beruffen wurden, um nach Art einer geiſtlichen Conferentz ſich mit einander zu unterreden, wie dem Uebel ſamt denen vielen Läſterungen abzuhelffen, auf daß unſchuldige Hertzen durch ſolche Verwirrung nicht gantz mögten hingeriſſen werden: So hat ſolches ein groſſes Aufſehen verurſachet, als ob nun Menſchen gekommen wären, denen es um die Ehre GOttes und das Heil der Menſchen wahrhafftig zu thun ſeye. In deme nun ſolches alles vor uns kam, und wir auch auf das freundlichſte dazu eingeladen wurden: So haben wir gleich anfangs wohl geſehen, daß das





Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

*geben durch | Johannes Hildebrand, | Einem Mitglied der Gemeine Jesu Christ | in Ephrata Hausväterliche Seite.*

[Translation.—Scriptural Testimony of the heavenly and virginal work of Creation, how it was closed in the flesh with the first Adam, but with the crucifixion of the second Adam was opened again with a spear. Set forth against the entirely unfounded claims of the Moravian congregation of a divine matrimony, out of which they claim to create an image of God. Given unto the Light, by Johannes Hildebrand, a member of the Congregation of Jesus Christ, in Ephrata secular part.]

*Unparthenisches | Bedencken | Ueber das Bekehrungs-Werck der | Herrenhutischen Gemeine | In Pennsylvanien.*

[Translation.—Impartial consideration over the missionary work of the Moravian Congregation in Pennsylvania.]

All of the above pamphlets were reprinted in Germany by Fresenius in his *Nachrichten von Herrnhutische Sachen*, and were used as an argument against the Moravian Brethren.

At the Synod held toward the close of the year, March 11–22, 1742–3, the Moravians sent a missive to Johann Hildebrand refuting in the strongest terms the charges of the Ephrata people. This was also printed at the Germantown printing office and bore the title—

*Ein Schreiben | der Herrnhutischen Gemeine | aus ihrer Conferentz. | an Mstr. Johann Hildebrand | in Ephrata.*

[Translation.—A missive of the Moravian Congregation, from their Conference to Magister Johann Hildebrand in Ephrata.]

It was signed by Henry Antes and a number of others, and was full of invective and denunciation of the "Rabble in Zion" denouncing them as "tools of the Devil, and monstrous abortions in the eye of the Lord," etc. This printed missive was met by another from Johann Hildebrand. It was also an issue of the Sauer press:

# Schrifftmäſſiges
# Beuchnüß

Von dem
Himmliſchen und Jungfräulichen
## Gebährungs-Werck,

Wie es an dem erſten Adam iſt mit
Fleiſch zugeſchloſſen, aber an dem zweyten
Adam bey ſeiner Creutzigung durch
einen Speer wiederum ge-
öffnet worden.

## Entgegen geſetzt

Dem gantz ungegründeten Vorgeben
der Herrenhuthiſchen Gemeine von ei-
nem heiligen Eheſtand, daraus Sie
das Ebenbild GOttes aus-
zugebähren vorgeben.

Ans Licht gegeben durch
## Johannes Hildebrand,

Einem Mitglied der Gemeine JEſu Chriſti
in Ephrata Hausväterlicher Seite.



Original in Pennypacker Collection.

# Unpartheyisches Bedencken

## Ueber das Bekehrungs-Werck der Herrenhutischen Gemeine In Pennsylvanien.

Anfänglich ist man Willens gewesen, einen umständlichen Bericht abzufassen von dem, was zur Lehre von dieser Menschen Lehre, Leben, Thun und Wandel, und ob man Ihnen mit Recht das Christenthum könne zuschreiben; Hernach als man sich in die Sache hinein gelassen, hat man das Gewerb dieser Menschen so schlecht, so unrein, so Grund- und Geistlos; Sie selbsten aber so weit von GOtt und allem Guten entfernet gefunden, daß man geglaubt eine grosse Thorheit zu begehen, wann man sich würde in Streitigkeiten einlassen mit einer Sache, die nicht so viel werth ist, daß man das Gemüth dabey aufhalte, weilen nicht die geringste Ursachen vorkommen, dadurch etwa der Name GOttes könte verharlicht, oder das Heil des Nächsten befördert werden.

Man ist dessen versichert, daß in unsern Tagen keine Secte auferstanden, die diese an Blindheit und Unverstand übertroffen. Es ist doch nicht die geringste Secte





Original in Pennypacker Collection.

# Ein Schreiben der Herrnhutiſchen Gemeine aus ihrer Conferentz. an Mſtr. Johann Hildebrand in Ephrata.

WIr die Gemeine Gottes im Geiſt in Penſylvanien, declariren hiermit, daß wir die Schrifft, welche durch die Rotte von Zion und einem Ephratäner gegen die Gemeine der Brüder in Bethlehem heraus gegeben worden, durch geleſen haben: Wir haben darinnen deutlich geſehen, daß ihr euch erſtlich zur Ungebühr angemaſet ein Urtheil zu fällen über beſagte Gemeine, und ihr das Recht einer Kirche abzuſprechen, welches ihnen aber doch von uns/ der Gemeine Gottes im Geiſt/ ſchon vor einem Jahr eingeſtanden worden, und ſich bißher vor unſer aller Augen genugſam bewieſen hat.

Zum andern, haben wir wahrgenommen, daß ihr von Zion und Ephrata, in eurer Läſterſchrifft euch alle erſinnliche Mühe gegeben habet, das, was ihr gehöret haben wollet, von unſerm Bruder Ludewig und andern Brüdern, theils liſtiglich zu verdrehen, theils aber in einer ſolchen Conexion vorzutragen, als es nimmermehr vorgekommen, um damit unvorſichtige Gemüther zu Præocupiren, und des Heylandes Geſchäffte das in dieſer Brüder Händen iſt, zu hindern, oder doch zu verunglimpfen.

Was

*Wohlgegründetes Bedencken | der Christlichen Gemeine in und bey Ephrata | Von dem Weg. | Der | Heiligung. | Wie derselbe nicht allein in | der Versöhnung Christi, sondern Haupt- | sächlich in seiner Nachfolge zu | suchen. | Ingleichem, | Von der Verführung, da Fleisch und Blut sich | zur Ungebühr des Versöhn-Opfers Jesu | Christi anmasst. | Auf begehren etlicher Freunde ans Licht | gebracht durch. | Johannes Hildebrand. | Bey veranlassung | Eines von der so genannten Herrenhutischen | Gemeine erhaltenen Briefs | Germantown Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.*[42] (*Vide* page 84 *infra*.)

[Translation.—Well grounded consideration of the Christian community in and near Ephrata, over the way of Salvation. How the same is not alone to be sought in the atonement of Christ, but chiefly by becoming his follower. * * * At the desire of divers Friends brought to light by Johannes Hildebrand, occasioned by the receipt of a letter from the so-called Moravian Congregation. Germantown: Printed by Christopher Saur, 1743.]

The only copy of this tractate known to the writer is a reprint by Sauer, 1747, in the Pennypacker collection.

There was also printed and issued by Christopher Sauer during this year (1743) an edition of Ernst Christoph Hochman von Hochenau's Glaubens-Bekenntniss or creed. This Confession of Faith was the accepted fundamental doctrine of both the Germantown and Ephrata branches of the German Baptists. It was originally published in Germany in 1702 and reprinted in 1703. The title page of the American edition reads:

*Ernst Christoph Hochmanns | von Hochenau | Glaubens-Be- | kenntness, | Geschrieben aus seinem Arrest, | auf dem | Hoch-Grafl. Lippisch. Schloss | Detmold, | Samt | Einer an die Juden gehaltenen | Rede | Auf gnädige Verordnung | Seiner Hoch-Grafl. Excell. | Des Regierenden Herrn | Graffen zu der Lippe. im | Yahr 1702 gedruckt,*

Wohlgegründetes Bedencken
der Chriſtlichen Gemeine in und bey Ephrata

# Von dem Weg.
Der
# Heiligung.

## Wie derſelbe nicht allein in der Verſöhnung Chriſti, ſondern Hauptſächlich in ſeiner Nachfolge zu ſuchen.

Ingleichem.

Von der Verführung, da Fleiſch und Blut ſich zur Ungebühr des Verſöhn-Opfers Jeſu Chriſti anmaßt.

Auf begehren etlicher Freunde ans Licht gebracht durch.

**Johannes Hildebrand.**

Bey veranlaſſung
Eines von der ſo genannten Herrenhutiſchen Gemeine erhaltenen Briefs

Germantown Gedruckt bey Chriſtoph Saur. 1747.

MAGISTER HILDEBRAND'S REPLY TO THE MORAVIANS.

Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

*und 1703 wieder | aufgelegt, und nun mit einer kurtzen | Vorrede begleithet. | Germantown | Gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer 1743.*

This creed was never publicly formulated by the Ephrata Community, for the specific reasons given by Michael Wohlfarth to Benjamin Franklin, which are fully given in a previous chapter (Vol. I, pp. 394–5).

It is a curious fact that this, the original creed of the modern Dunker Church, should have been set aside during the present century until its very existence became forgotten. It was even unknown to the Dean of the chief institution of learning of the Dunker Church in Pennsylvania until his attention was called to it by the present writer, and a photographic copy of the Hochenau version furnished him.


Ernſt Chriſtoph Hochmanns
von Hochenau
Glaubens-Be-
kenntniß,
Geſchrieben aus ſeinem ARREST
auff dem
Hoch-Gräfl. Lippiſch. Schloß
Detmold,
Samt
Einer an die Juden gehaltenen
REDE.
Auf gnädige Verordnung
Seiner Hoch-Gräfl. Excell.
Des Regierenden Herrn
Graffen zu der Lippe. im
jahr 1702 gedruckt, und 1703 wieder
aufgelegt, und nun mit einer kurtzen
Vorrede begleithet.

Germantown
gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer 1743.

TITLE-PAGE OF DUNKER CREED.
AMERICAN VERSION.
Original in library of the writer.

A curious translation into English has come into possession of the writer, the idea evidently being at the time of its translation to formulate it among some English branches. It is reproduced verbatim:




WITHIN THE KLOSTER GROUNDS.

## CONFESSION OF FAITH.

First: I believe in One Eternal and Almighty God, found in the old Testament as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the New [covenant], revealed as Father, Son and Holy Ghost. Mat. xxviii. 19. I do not find it of further use to my soul to have any disputation, or criticism about it; but find it more edifying in humility to submit to this internal work of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, in a renewed life revealed in Christ.

The Father reveals himself through the Son, and the Son in turn revealed the internal working of the Father through the power of the Holy Ghost, without which no Godly things can be known by us. This is in reality Eternal Life; that man can know God the Father, as Christ did know and openly declare Him. John xvii. 3. Him do I openly declare and confess with heart and life as the confession of my faith.

Secondly:—As to Baptism; I believe that Christ our Lord instituted it exclusively for the adults and not for little children; because there is nothing, not even an iota, to be found in the Holy Scriptures explicitly setting it forth. Human reason and well meaning conjectures are not sufficient authority; but such explicit commands as was given to Abraham and his posterity of circumcision.

Thirdly:—Of the Lord's Supper—I believe it was instituted for elect followers of Christ; who in self denial renounce all worldly lusts, and following Christ in works and truth with singleness of heart. I believe that the pledge of God is greatly weakened, and His wrath against the whole church increased, when the ungodly children of the world are permitted to take part in this Holy Feast, as is the custom in our day.

Fourthly:—As to the doctrine of perfection—I believe, though being born in sin, I can, through Christ, not only become righteous, but perfect in holiness; so that no more sin may remain in me, if I come to the full stature of manhood in Christ Jesus. I, however, do not boast as though I had already attained, profess with Paul to press with zeal and perseverence in following God and the Lamb to the uttermost. That man can come to perfection, is fully attested by the Holy scripture.

I will, however, simply refer to one passage in Heb. vii. 25, according to the old *Piscatoris* version, "Wherefore, he is able also to save them evermore, that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them."

It is verily not sufficient that full redemption is amply made for me, through Christ; but there must also be a deliverance from sin—death—the devil and hell within the soul by the Son of the living GOD. And His full mediation be wrought out so as to bring into effect the power of Prophet, Priest and King every soul unto a perfect image of God; also a full spiritual stature of CHRIST. Thus where this living power is not brought forth in the soul of man in life, such cannot come to the vision or contemplation of God; for without this sanctification no one man can behold God.

"Whosoever has this hope in him, purifieth himself even as he is pure." 1 John iii. 3.

Fifthly:—As to the office of the spirit,—I believe that Christ, who is the church has the choosing and ordaining of teachers and preachers, and give them the capabilty thereto; and not man, for only "He," who ascended to heaven, and is the fulness of all things, "gave some apostles, and some prophets and some evangelists, and some pastors for the perfecting of the saints or the work of the ministry," etc. Eph. iv. 10. 11. 12. In Acts, xx. 27, it is expressly said "the Holy Ghost," and not man—"hath made you overseers to feed the Church of God, which he has purchased with his own blood."

Sixth:—As to the Government,—I believe it to be the order of God in the kingdom of nature, to which I must in all civil things submit according to the teaching of Paul in Rom. 13. 1–7, but I do not permit the exercise of power in the things claimed under this power, which are against God's word and my conscience: or the liberty of Christ. For it is said "we ought to obey God rather than man." Acts 5. 28.

Should I be brought to suffer the penalty of such an unrighteous law, I will endure but not submit; notwithstanding I will pray God to convert such as will do this. But I also confess that the essential magistrative sceptre is not given because they are christians; for the Turk of Constantinople, and the

Pope of Rome also have a government founded on truth in nature; but this will not make them christians; for when I say of a government that it is a christian government, then I must feel that it has the spirit of Christ. I can however say with Paul. (Rom. 8:9.) "If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his," neither is such a government a christian government. But, I regard and respect them as heathen potentates, who will reach the zenith of their power. I am fully persuaded beyond all doubt, that he who is seated at the right hand of God, will sooner or later break in, dethrone all heathen potentates, and, according to the prophetic declaration of the holy Virgin Mary "He exalteth the humble," for the sceptre of Christ will destroy all, and grind up all other beastly power. (Dan. 2:44.) Yea the Lamb shall overcome them. Rev. 17:14. "They will make war with the Lamb, and it will overcome them: for he is Lord of lords and King of kings; and they that are with him are called, and chosen and faithful." And while the kingdom of Christ is so near at hand, I do profess that, as a spiritual statesman, taught by the word of God, I look more to the rising Sun of righteousness, than the passing powers of this world; the former ends in the Eternity of eternities, this will reach its period or zenith at the great Judgment of God.

Seventh:—And lastly, as to the restoration of the accursed: I fail to see how it is possible to accomplish this; while it demands a minutely detailed deduction to be fully understood. But I will briefly say that as all are fallen in Adam so must all be raised up in Christ. Now if this were not so then Christ had not sufficient power to do so; let now the fifth chapter of Romans be read and learn how the restoration through the mediation of Christ is mightier than the fall of Adam. In 1 Cor. xv, 22, we read plainly, "As in Adam all die so in Christ shall all be made alive." But as said before, I fail to see just how, as according to his dignity or honor: this matter can not be carried out.

It requires an oral representation to meet all the detailed offsets out of the mind of God, so as to make it understandable, while these are the most important points in question or

controversy. I have briefly given the few quotations in obedience to the laws of nature, for they will be brought before the public. I conclude with my heartfelt wish that GOD,—ALMIGHTY; with light and power from above, may enlighten all before whom this confession of faith may come; for I may not be permitted to appear personally before the authorities of this land. Thus I herewith first thank GOD,—ALMIGHTY; and his merciful grace which enabled me to yield submission as a citizen; and for all the good things I enjoyed while sharing the protection of the land. God who is rich in mercy, will fully recompence you for all the good things I enjoyed in time and in eternity. Let the blessings of God rest upon the head of this house, his wife, and all his household, that every curse may be weaned, and in its stead the spirit of God find acceptance. And as I am not worthy to remain in this house, nor in this country: I will, notwithstanding all this not cease to invoke God, the Father of all spirits, for the soul of Frederick Adolphus as long as I live: and for the Earldom of his house.

Most humble intercessor,

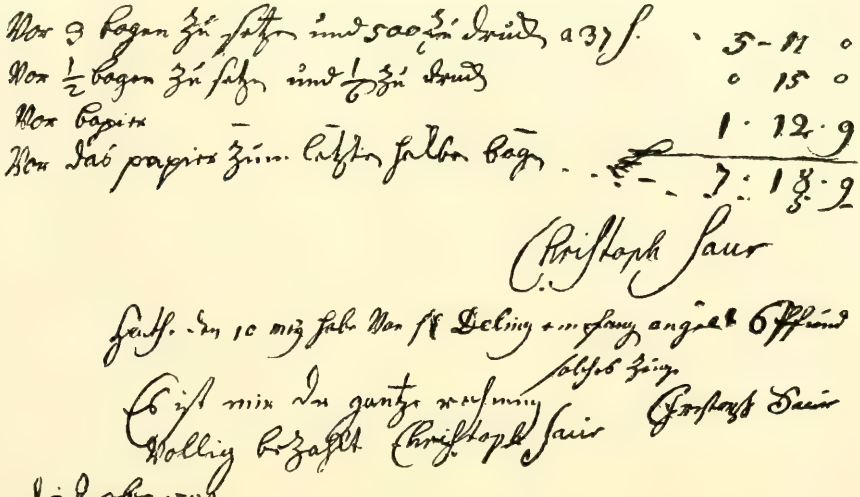
E. C. H. v. H.

Castle of Detmolt,
November 1702.

Another curious reminder of this early period which has come to the notice of the writer, was a bill for printing in the handwriting of the elder Sauer, it was rendered to John Jacob Doehling for printing a Moravian pamphlet.

[42] Bey den Drucker hiervon ist nun zu haben ein Tractätgen genant Zeugniss der Brüderschafft in Zion, beydes von den wichtigsten puncten des Christenthums; u von den Bekehrungs werk der Herrnhutischen Gemeinden. Nebst einen Schrifftmässigen Zeugniss, von unterschied der Himmlischen u fleischlicher Geburth, durch J. Hildebrand, das Stück 11 pens. (April issue, 1743).

Ein Echo, Zeugniss u Protestation der Brüderschafft in Zion in Ephrata gegen einer sogenanten Gemeine Gottes im Geist, betittlet Wohlgegründetes Bedenken vom Weg der Heiligung wie derselbe nicht allein in der Versöhnung Christi, sondern hauptsächlich in Seiner Nachfolge zu Suchen —Zu haben beym Drucker hiervon für 6d. (September issue, 1743.)



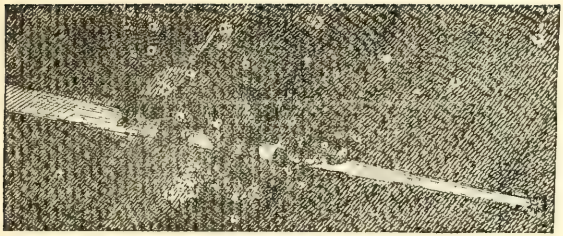
FAC-SIMILE OF BILL RENDERED BY SAUER TO DOEHLING.
Original in Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"*Eine Beschreibung der wahren Kirche, was und wo sie Sey.*"

No copy of this pamphlet appears to be known. The edition consisted of 500 copies and was printed in small (Gramont fractur) type. John Jacob Doehling, born 1715, on Island of Ruegen, was a student at Jena prior to 1739, joined the Moravians, and came to America with the second sea congregation on the *Little Strength*, November 26, 1743. He was living in Germantown as late as 1749, and was a member of the local Moravian congregation. A fac-simile of this bill is reproduced upon the previous page and is extremely interesting as it gives the autograph of Christopher Sauer in both German and English.



HOUSE ON MAIN STREET, OPPOSITE QUEEN LANE, BUILT BY THE YOUNGER SAUER SHORTLY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION, AS IT APPEARED APRIL, 1859, REMODELED AND IMPROVED.



## CHAPTER III.

### THE GREAT COMET OF 1743–44.




THE differences incident to the dispute with the Moravian Brethren, aggravated as they were by the pamphlets published by Hildebrand and others, had barely subsided, when an event occurred which once more threw the whole community into a state of consternation and excitement. On Christmas night, 1743, just after sunset, another comet was discovered, this time in the west. It was the one discovered by Klinkenberg in September, 1743. At first it appeared but small to the naked eye, no larger than a star of the second magnitude, but it rapidly increased in size and brilliancy and stood on the heavens for over two months.

Doctor Christopher Witt, of Germantown, whose acquaintance we have already made, and who was an associate of Magister Johannes Kelpius, thus describes this celestial

HEADPIECE.—Comet of 1743–44, from a contemporary etching.

visitant, viewed through his eight-foot telescope, a few days after its appearance in the heavens:

"His atmosphere or tail is not long but directing itself to S. E., this motion but slow, making to the N. W. He rises about ¾ past ten in the morning in the E. N. E. and passes our Meridian ¾ after 5 P. M. in latitude 15. 30 N. and sets ¾ after midnight in the W. N. W. His latitude with respect to the Ecliptic is 21d. 30m. His longitude from Aries is 14d. 30m."

In our community the scenes of the preceding February were re-enacted, and on account of its long visit and brilliancy, great dread and fear was inspired among the speculative mystics on Mount Zion. It was not long before the comet was accepted by them as the star prophesied in the Zohar,[43] which was to stand upon the heavens as a warning for seventy days, at the end of which time a great religious or political revolution would take place, ending with the establishment of God's kingdom in the New World. The fact that the comet appeared on the twenty-fifth day of the month, corresponding with the date mentioned in the Zohar, went far to strengthen them in their belief. Their fears were soon shared by the ignorant and superstitious German community at large, to whom Numbers xxiv, 17, 18, 19 was quoted as a warning that the Millenium was near, and who were thereby led to believe that when the fulfillment of the prophesy finally came, Mount Zion would form the centre of the New Jerusalem in the New World [Abend-land],[44] and that the Zionitic



SOLAR ECLIPSE, FROM EPHRATA FONT.

[43] Cremorna Edition, III, 212b, 1558–60.

[44] Ephrata MS.

Brotherhood would be the chosen servants of the Temple. A rhythmical prayer was composed for the use of the congregation, which was afterwards printed. This unique pamphlet,

Ernſtliche

ERWECKUNGS-STIMM

In ein Lied verfaſſet

Ueber den ſo lang geſtandenen und groſen

Comeeten

Welcher ſich im X Monat des Jahrs 1743
das erſte mal ſehen ließ,
und 10 Wochen lang geſtanden.

Von einem Freund zugeſande,
Und,
auf deſſen Begehren,
Zum Druck befördert.

Zu EPHRATA, MDCCXLV.

TITLE OF "COMET" BOOK.
Original in Pennypacker Collection.

of which only a single copy has come down to us, is to be found in the Pennypacker collection, and is one of the earliest issues of the Ephrata Press:

*Ernstliche | Erweckungs-Stimm | In ein lied verfasset | Ueber den so lang gestandenen und grosen | Cometen | Welcher sich im X Monat des Jahrs 1743 | das erste mal sehen liess, | und 10 Wochen lang gestanden. | Von einem Freund zugesandt, | Und, | auf dessen Begehren, | Zum Druck befördert. | Zu Ephrata, MDCCXLV.*

[Translation.—Earnest | Awakening Voice | Composed into a Hymn | Concerning the Long Standing and Great | Comet, | Which showed itself for the first time | in the X Month of the Year 1743 | and stood visible for 10 Weeks. | Sent by a Friend, | And, | at his request | Put into Print. | At Ephrata, MDCCXLV.]

The first notice of this interesting literary find appeared in a Lancaster magazine.[45] It was by the pen of the editor.

Rev. J. Max Hark, who after a short description of the booklet and a literal translation of the title-page, states:

"The preface, moreover, informs us that the hymn is printed unknown to the author, at the request of a friend, and because such calls to repentance are very much needed in those times. The hymn itself is really the smallest part of the book, consisting of only sixteen seven-lined stanzas, which are preceded by a prologue or preface of five pages and followed by an epilogue or conclusion of two pages. The latter is a characteristic homily full of the peculiar Ephrata theology, closing with the prayer, 'Therefore, O Heaven, condescend to us, and thaw out what has been frozen so hard by the hellish cold and midnight darkness,'" etc.

In conclusion two stanzas were rendered into English:

"The Lord his signs makes to appear,
To call us to repentance:
A monstrous comet standeth there
That we our sins should flee from,
But we, alas! scarce give it a thought,
For each one thinks it cometh not,
The punishment and danger.

[45] *Christian Culture*, Lancaster, May, 1890.

"Comets (believe't) are not for naught,
In heavens thus appearing;
A judgment surely shall be wrought,
Such mighty signs succeeding.
O, be not scornfully inclined,
Nor treat it with a careles mind,
Lest you too soon forget it."

Before criticizing or condemning the character of this work, or the spirit which pervades both the prose and poetry, we must take into consideration the strained nervous condition of these religious enthusiasts, whose minds were almost unbalanced by their mystical speculations and ascetic mode of life, while their bodies were mortified by vigils and fastings until they were worn to mere shadows of their former selves.

WE at the present time can form but little conception of the effect of these celestial visitants upon the German religious recluses and enthusiasts in the Province, sincere as they were in their convictions and imbued with the superstitions of the Fatherland. The same, in a somewhat lesser degree, applies to the German residents of Germantown. To them the comet was a fiery sword or bunch of flaming switches, sent by the Almighty as an announcement to a wicked world, foreshadowing punishment in the shape of famine, pestilence, war, or other dire calamities here in America like unto the similar judgments visited upon Europe.

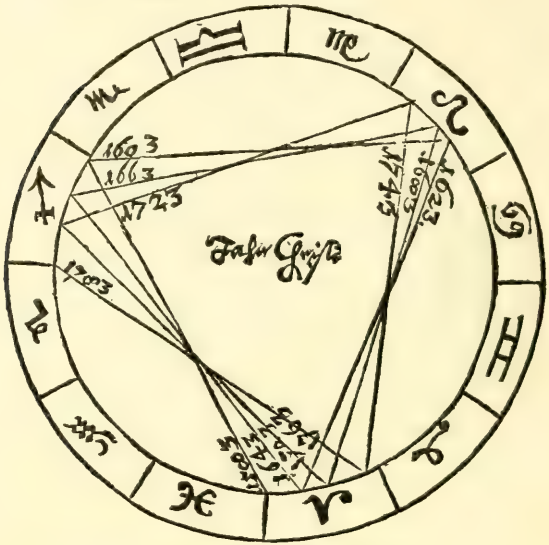
Christopher Sauer, in his paper for February 16, 1744, notices the appearance of the comet as follows:

"Since the first night of Christmastide a comet has appeared with ample opportunity to view it. Such as saw the comet Anno 80 (1680), say: that the present one is greater and hath a longer brush. Following the former came a long weary war, for which the star was evidently not at fault, but rather the

wickedness of mankind. What will follow this one, the future alone can disclose unto us. From certain indications we expect much sickness and death, but little conversion and betterment.

"In mornings, one hour before day, another such comet is visible, whereof more in the future."

This notice was followed by a fuller account in the April issue of his newspaper:[46]




ASTROLOGICAL CHART.

From old Ephrata MSS.

"The learned stargazers, who care naught for change of either heart or mind, keep rather silent and announce merely in what degree, sign and position the comet stands.

"Other astrologers again believe that as the comet disap-

[46] Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

peared in *Pisces*, it presages misfortune to all the fish within the waters. However, the innocent fish have not sinned.

"It is announced from New England that many simple minded people are taking the matter seriously to heart, that God is threatening a great punitory judgment (*strafgericht*). The writer, however, appears only to be mocking. Many others believe that the star in the evening and morning were different comets, as the one visible in the evening advanced only five degrees within the ten weeks, consequently it did not advance over 5′ per day. Therefore it were impossible that in three days it could have travelled two full degrees toward the sun.

"Another observed that toward the last it travelled much faster than at first, and he gives expression to his thoughts as follows: 'The comet seen in the morning is the same as that visible in the evening. As it travels so rapidly into *Aries* against the sun, consequently the star travelled toward the sun, and the sun toward the star. Therefore the star passed northward beyond the sun, so that it was eventually in *Pisces* and finally appeared before sunrise in the morning. And after the sun arose it stood between *Venus* and the sun as the latter was still in *Pisces*. Therefore, it is my natural judgment that while the star made its appearance in *Aries* and set in the sign of *Pisces* (for *Aries* is the habitation of the planet *Mars*) which designates great changes, disturbances, wrath, confusion and disorder, in the governmental order of all peoples in the world. As the comet takes its course on the middle solar line from north to south, and as *Pisces* is the habitation of the planet *Jupiter*, so this shows an equal disturbance in the spiritual order of special changes and great confusion followed by dreadful judgments coming quickly, as the star latterly had so rapid a course, and burned like unto a great flaming torch with a long fiery trail. All of which to me are plain tokens that the destruction of the religious Babylonian govermental order is near at hand.'

"Now it is said that some astronomers have noticed that the comet finally moved toward the sun, to form a conjunction, and I can believe it, as when it was lost to our view, the sun, prior to its arising, threw out great and wonderful rays upon the sky reaching high up, even to the so-called Milky Way.

"If this be so, that it ended itself by a conjunction with the sun, so, I believe, that these announced judgments will quickly come to an end, and that the divine judgment angel conjugating himself with the divine luminosity, will quickly obtain the upper hand in the whole world; just as the star conjugated itself with the sun in the middle line, which in the sun makes the days and nights equal throughout the whole world. All of which declares unto me that the Babylonian darkness which was heretofore so dense, that it was darker than light, but now in due time, light and darkness will, upon the whole earth, be placed upon an equality of weight and measure. So that the evangelical light of grace may shine over the whole earth, as prophesied, Zach. xiii : 7.

"Yet, this may all be as it will, one thing surely remains: That at last Babel must perish, outwardly as well as inwardly in the Spirit. Thus the judgment angel continually manifests itself in this star and becomes greater and greater, and quickening in his course, will assuredly execute his judgments in a quick and rapid way.

"Therefore it is time earnestly to both outwardly and inwardly flee from this Babel. For God will protect his own in these bad times.

"O Lord! hasten, shorten the days, so that your kingdom cometh soon."



KLOSTER TAIL-PIECE FORMED OF TYPE ORNAMENTS.



## CHAPTER IV.

### THE PILGRIMAGE TO NEW ENGLAND.




SEAL OF THE PROVINCE OF CONNECTICUT.

In the history of the Ephrata Community the next noteworthy event was the extended pilgrimage, in the fall of 1744, of Prior Onesimus and three brethren to the Sabbatarian Communities as far east as Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The strained relations between Beissel and Prior Onesimus had increased from day to day, and there can be but little doubt that the Prior conceived the pilgrimage for purposes of his own, which did not appear upon the surface; however, when he made his desire known to the Superintendent, adding that possibly a short absence would tend to heal their differences, Beissel at once gave his consent to the scheme, and in addition suggested that he take Brothers Jephune (Samuel Eckerlin), Timotheus (Alexander Mack) and Jaebez (Rev. Peter Miller) as his travelling companions, Beissel in the meantime attending to the Prior's duties at the religious meetings.

These brethren were selected with special reference for their fitness to insure the success of the pilgrimage as well as the welfare and comfort of the participants themselves. Prior Onesimus represented the Zionitic Brotherhood and Theosophists of the Community; Timotheus, a son of the founder of the German Baptists, represented the secular congregation and Baptists (Täufer) in general. Jephune, mystic and astrologer, was the physician of the party and was responsible for their physical welfare; while Brother Jaebez was the representative theologian and acted as interpreter for the pilgrims. The preparations for the journey were soon made, all that was requisite being an extra sole under their woolen sandals, a sharp iron at the end of their *pilgerstab*, and a day's provisions, in addition to a copy of the *Weyrauch's Hügel*, and a few *Theosophische Episteln*.

These simple preparations being complete, a solemn love feast was held in the Saal of Zion on Friday night, September 21, 1744, when the bread was broken and blessings invoked upon the pilgrims. These services lasted until far into the night, and even the hours between the midnight prayers and the breaking morn were passed in prayer and supplication. On the next morning, being Sabbath, the pilgrims were present at the meeting of the congregation. After the close of the Sabbath (6 P. M.) they started upon their long journey, accompanied for a short distance by many of the Brotherhood.

Once fairly upon their way, they walked as was their custom, bareheaded and silently, in single file, stopping for the night at any house that offered them shelter. The road selected led through the German settlements in eastern Lancaster county, by way of Churchtown, thence northeastward towards their English brethren of the faith at Nantmill, in Chester county, where a stop was made and several missionary meetings held. From the Falls of French creek the road was taken which led through Coventry.

Here visits were made and services held among the many German families of that vicinity; thence the journey led across the Schuylkill to the German settlements scattered along the roadside leading to Germantown. When the party arrived at the Ridge a somewhat lengthy stop was made with Conrad Matthäi, Seelig, and the Brother Mystics on the Wissahickon. The rest of the journey to the city was uneventful. After a short sojourn at the house of William Jung, the Philadelphia agent of the Community, and visits to their brethren of the faith in the city and on the Pennepack, the four pilgrims started fairly on their journey to a new and distant country. They attracted no lack of attention as they slowly plodded their way northeastward, crossing the Neshaminy at the Falls, and thence by way of Coryell's ferry into New Jersey. At Amwell, in Hunterdon county, another somewhat lengthy stop was made, as the converts baptized some six years ago still kept up their organization and considered themselves a branch of the parent Community at Ephrata.[46] Fifty years ago the descendants of these people still kept up an organization and church, but as the old people died out the younger generation gradually assumed the customs, dress and Sabbath of the other residents.

After leaving the brethren in Amwell, they took up their journey through the pines and dunes towards the ocean. Their path led for miles through the unbroken forest, where often for hours the monotony was broken only by the note of a bird or some crawling reptile in their path. Houses were few and far between, and, in addition, the pilgrims were forced on several nights to bivouac around a fire in the woods so as to keep off any wild beasts, with no other shelter than the canopy of heaven. Autumn had now well set in, and the nights were already cold and frosty. This, however, did not tend to cool the ardor of our pilgrims or deter them in

[46] *Vide* vol. i, chap. 24.

their undertaking. Their objective point was the part of New Jersey commonly known as Barnegat, where a small company of Seventh Day Baptists had settled in the township of Shrewsbury, Monmouth county, between the waters of the Shark and Squam rivers. These Sabbatarians emigrated from Stonington, Connecticut, and Westerly, Rhode Island,[47] a few years before, and were reinforced by several members of William Davis' family from Pennsylvania. At the advent of our pilgrims this community numbered but fifteen adult members, who, notwithstanding the smallness of their number, met and signed a covenant shortly after their settlement, binding themselves to live and walk together as Christian people, although they had no church organization nor pastor.

The pilgrims were kindly received; meetings were arranged and held in their honor. At these gatherings Brother Jaebez preached and admonished them to remain steadfast in their faith. This resulted in a church being organized, and William Davis,[48] the elder, though in his eighty-first year, was elected pastor.

From "Squam," or Shrewsbury, as the church is known in the Seventh Day Baptist records, the pilgrims wended their way southward until they came to a place on the west shore of Barnegat bay, almost directly opposite to the inlet of that name, where there was another settlement of New England Sectarians.

These people were what is known as "Rogerines," and appear among the earliest settlers of Morris county. They first came from New London, in Connecticut, in the year 1734. The party was led by John Culver (Colver), of Groton, Connecticut, and his wife Sarah, who were among John

[47] Vide *Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, vol. ii, p. 116.

[48] One of the organizers of the Sabbatarian churches in Pennsylvania in 1691. He died at the close of the year 1745, aged 82 years. See *German Pietists*.

Rogers' earliest and most faithful followers. This band of pilgrims consisted of twenty-one persons, ten of whom—five sons and five daughters—were the children of John and Sarah Culver. They first settled on the east side of Schooley's Mountain, Morris county, New Jersey. The Culver party, after a sojourn in Morris county of about three years, migrated in a body to a place, on Barnegat bay, now called Waretown, in Monmouth county (Ocean county). This settlement derived its name from a Rogerine, Abraham Waeir.[49] Here they remained undisturbed for a period of eleven years, when they again went to Morris county and settled on the west side of Schooley's mountain,[50] in the neighborhood of the Springs, between Suckasunny and Hopatcong creek.[51] It was while they were at Waretown (the whole district was known as Barnegat) that they were visited by Onesimus and his party.

It has been stated that this party of Rogerines came to New Jersey to escape persecution in their native colony. This claim is controverted by the fact that John Culver and his wife were fully as courageous as those who stayed and fought it out on the native heath. She was cruelly whipped in New London about 1720 for daring to rebuke one of the judges, and also imprisoned.

It does not appear whether the Rogerines in New Jersey still adhered to the Seventh Day, or that they were in fellowship with any of the Pennsylvania or New England Sabbatarian churches.

[49] Families who affiliated with the Culvers were the Tuttles, Burrows, Manns, Weirs, Waterhouses, Lambs, Pechers, Salmons and Owens.

[50] Smith, in his history of New Jersey (1765), refers to a house of worship. This was said to be near the point where the road from Mountain Pond joins the highway from Rustic to Mt. Arlington. Their graveyard was near Silver Spring, about a furlong from Lake Hopatcong.

[51] It is stated that in 1790 there were still living two old persons, Thomas Culver and Sarah Mann, of the original Rogerine congregation in Morris county.

John Rogers, the founder of the sect, had broken off with the Rhode Island Sabbatarians at an early date, the latter not favoring the peaceful, non-resistant Quaker principles, and some others, as healing by prayer, or taking so bold a stand in ignoring a first day Sabbath and entering the church of another denomination [52] and disturbing their meetings, as an effectual means of defense by which they sought to continue their own worship of God in a scriptural manner instead of the ecclesiastical dictum.

This community received our pilgrims with open arms. They were entertained by John Culver, the most prominent among the Rogerines, and who had previously made several visits to Amwell and Ephrata and invited them to come to Barnegat. Looking upon them as holy men, they now even brought their sick to the pilgrims in the hope that they might be healed by the mere laying on of hands and prayer. The *Chronicon* further states that it was these people who induced the pilgrims to extend their visit to New England.

From an old record it is learned that the meetings of the Rogerines at Barnegat were held in a school-house.[53] They did not believe in the sanctity of the Puritan Sabbath. They believed that since the death of Christ all days were holy alike. Among other things they would not say grace at meals; all prayers were to be said mentally, except when the spirit of prayer compelled the use of the voice. They said: "All unscriptural parts of worship are idols, and all good Christians should exert themselves against idols," etc. Among the idols they placed the observance of the Sabbath, infant baptism, etc. The Puritan Sabbath they called the New England idol. The New Jersey congregation, however, did not follow so extreme a course as their New England brethren, who, the same record states, "would on Sun-

[52] This was the first Congregational Church in New London.

[53] *Salter's History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties, N. J.*, 1890.

days try to be at some manual labor near meeting-houses or in the way of people going to or from church."

It appears, however, that at the Barnegat meetings the women would be engaged in knitting and sewing, and the men in making basket splints or some other noiseless work during their own religious services.

Similar to their New England brethren, they used no medicines nor would they employ doctors, and, as is stated in the *Chronicon Ephratense*, "they brought their sick to our pilgrims to be healed by strictly Scriptural means."

Abraham Waeir, from whom the village of Waretown derives its name, was a member of the Rogerine Society, who, when the main body of the society left Barnegat to again return to Morris county, remained behind and became quite a prominent business man and was universally esteemed. Tradition says that he came from the vicinity of Hurl Gate, where he had a mill washed away in a storm, and then he came and settled on the shores of Barnegat bay, where one or two mills were standing at that time. He died March 24, 1768, aged eighty-five years. His descendants removed to Squam and vicinity, near the head of Barnegat bay. His epitaph tells us that "his innocent life adorned true light."

After the visit came to an end the pilgrims journeyed back to Burlington county to visit a hermit or recluse who lived the life of an anchorite near Crosswick creek, a short distance from Burlington. The *Chronicon* speaks of him as "John Lovell, an old Pythagorean." Who he was or what connection there was between the Ephrata Brotherhood and this recluse does not appear.

In an old Baptist record, dated 1746, mention is made of one Henry Loveall, or Lovell, who came to New Jersey from New England about 1730–32, and settled near Piscataqua, three miles east of New Brunswick, and one north of the Raritan river. The town was on the site of an old

Indian village, and was a seat of justice as early as 1683. This Loveall, or Lovell, preached to the Baptists there for over two years, and then was ordained.[54]

The old record further states that Lovell was never permitted to administer the holy ordinances, and that he was soon after excommunicated from the church for behaving himself in an eccentric and disorderly manner.

There can be but little doubt but that the John Lovell of the *Chronicon* and Henry Lovell of the Baptist records were one and the same person. Whether he was, as claimed, identical with the hermit, who lived for almost forty years in the dense pines about four miles east of Burlington, and who, in his obituary notice, is called Francis Furgler, is an interesting question. Whether the name "Lovell," by which the Ephrata Brethren knew the recluse, was his real or assumed name we have no means of knowing. If the name in the obituary was the true one, and it was the same person, there is some possibility of his having originally come from Germany.

The following notice from a local paper records his death: "On the 19th inst. (Jan., 1778) died, in the 66th year of his age, Francis Furgler, the hermit, who existed alone for over twenty-five years in a thick wood about four miles from Burlington, through all the inclemencies of the seasons, without fire, in a cell made by the side of an old log, in the form of an oven, not high or long enough to stand upright in or lie extended. His recluse manner of living excited the curiosity of strangers, by whom he was often visited. His reasons for thus secluding himself from all human society we believe he never communicated to any person in these parts, but it is thought he meant by it to do penance for crimes committed in his own country, for he was a

[54] This must have been by the First Day Baptists, as the records of the Seventh Day Baptist Congregation at Piscataqua make no mention whatever of either name or incident.

man subject to violent passions. He subsisted upon nuts and the charity of the people in the neighborhood. From whence he came, or who he was, nobody could find out, but he appeared to be a German, yet he spoke that language imperfectly, either through design or from some defect in his intelligence. The evening before his death a friend carried him a little nourishment, of which he partook, earnestly praying for his dissolution, and would not suffer himself to be removed to a more comfortable dwelling. The next morning he was found dead in his cell, with a crucifix and a brass fish by his side, and on the 20th he was decently interred in Friends' burying-place at Mount Holly."

From the Pythagorean's hut at Crosswick the pilgrims journeyed toward New Brunswick, where they had the good fortune to find a vessel about to sail for New England. Onesimus at once secured passage for himself and companions, and ere another fortnight passed the four pilgrims, in their strange and uncouth garb, were landed at Black Point, in Connecticut,[55] three hundred miles from home, in a strange country, without friends, and "so despised on account of their dress that whoever saw them ran off." Their only dependence was the letter of introduction from the Jersey brethren at Barnegat to the Rogerines in New London. Fortunately for the pilgrims, in their dilemma, they found a member of the Bolles family, who lived in New London, near where they landed, and who was a prominent member of the Rogerine congregation, and, after reading their letters and the greetings of their brethren at Barnegat, received them affectionately and harbored them.[56] The date of this visit is fixed by an entry in the diary of Joshua Hempstead, of New London.[57]

[55] Lyme township, New London county, Conn.

[56] It appears to have been a custom and a pleasure of the Rogerines to entertain religious travelers who itinerated in Connecticut and were

"Oct. 10, 1744. I went to John Boles to see 4 men Yt come from beyond Barnegat, with long beards 8 or 9 inches, and strangely clothed, no hats and all in white, but they were not there."

This house (John Bolles') was at the top of a high hill in the northern part of New London township, one and one-half miles from the centre of the town and overlooking it. The region just beyond, thickly settled with Rogerines, was, about that time and since, called Quaker Hill.

No sooner had the arrival of the four Ephrata brethren become known in New London than a new danger threatened them. This unprotected seaport was then in a whirl of excitement on account of the war with Spain. The same day that brought news of the arrival of the Ephrata pilgrims also brought news that France had joined issue with Spain against England. The strangers were at once suspected of being Jesuit priests and French spies in disguise. Officers were sent to arrest them and bring them into the town of New London.[58] They were accompanied by their host, who, being a respectable and influential citizen, personally vouched for the brethren as Protestants, by birth and profession, and at once secured their freedom, when they were forthwith taken in charge by the Rogerines of New London.



THD OLD HEMPSTEAD HOUSE, NEW LONDON, CONN.

According to the *Chronicon*, they now had an opportunity

opposed to the established church that undertook to dictate in regard to the worship of God. This is fully shown by both the Ephrata and Moravian records.

[57] This interesting diary will probably soon be published.

[58] They appear to have been in New London township at some distance from the town. The term "town" in New England signifies a township, the whole territory within certain limits.



NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT.

DURING XVIII CENTURY.

to visit the above-mentioned Rogerines, "who were distinguished from other people by their quiet life;" among whom the brethren found so much favor that wherever they went they had a train of more than fifty persons, white and black, about them.[59] In this very region the pernicious custom of disputation was at that time carried to its highest point. Whenever they came together [the Congregationalists and New Lights] they placed two chairs in the middle of the space, on which the disputants sat, the listeners sitting around them in a circle, when they often gave vent to violent passion. At that time they mostly disputed "of the Perseverance of the Saints."[60]

The Rogerines, also known as "Singing Quakers,"[61] Rogerine Baptists and Quaker Baptists, were a religious sect that derived its origin and name from John Rogers (born 1648), of New London, Conn. He was a son of James Rogers, and was instrumental in organizing the Seventh Day Baptist Church of New London, in 1674.[62] He had some opinions in common with the Quakers, chiefly in regard to the doctrine of non-resistance, the unscriptural character of reading set public prayers and preaching for pay. He agreed with the Seventh Day Baptists in regard to keeping the seventh day instead of the first, the imposition of hands, administration of the Lord's Supper, and baptism by immersion. He began his

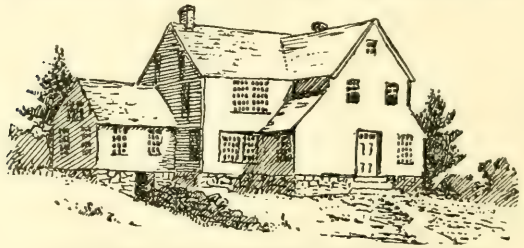
[59] These black people were their servants, of whom they had many (negroes and Indians) of whose spiritual welfare they were as solicitous as of their own.

[60] *Chronicon Ephratense*, original ed., p. 151.

[61] This name originated through John Rogers having entertained, some time previous to 1700, two men called "Banks and Case," who are said to have been of the class called "Singing Quakers." By the testimony of his son (John 2d) and other evidences, he neither followed nor agreed with these men, but merely entertained them in a hospitable manner and suffered the usual fine in consequence of "entertaining Quakers and other heretics."

[62] Vide *The Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, vol. i, New York, 1852.

sect about 1680[63] and was frequently fined and imprisoned on account of his faith, but it left no effect upon his spirit. The Rogerines, it is stated by a competent authority,[64] never violated any merely civil law; the opposition being to ecclesiastical laws calculated to infringe upon the rights of conscience. Much has been written about the Rogerines because of their determined opposition to the holding the first day of the week (or any other since the Atonement) as a sacred day. Considering that the sacredness (so-called) was placed upon that day by man some three hundred years after apostolic days, and entirely, as they held, contrary to New Testament teaching. Further, that one day should be as holy as another, except for regular religious meetings.



THE OLD ROGERINE MEETING-HOUSE OF THE SEVEN GABLES AT GROTON.

Many curious anecdotes were, in former years, current of these peculiar people, of how they suffered fines, imprisonment and public whippings for conscience sake. The persecution of the established church in Connecticut at the time of the pilgrims' visit was exceedingly bitter against the non-conformists of that colony, and such constant

[63] It is claimed that it was the bigotry and ecclesiastical tyranny current in Connecticut at that time that called this sect into existence, and their great fight from first to last was for religious liberty, of which there was then not a particle in that Province outside of the Congregational Church.

[64] Cf. *The Rogerines | or | A Hitherto Unwritten Chapter in the History of | Connecticut. | Boston, 1900.*

spiritual warfare was waged between them, that there seemed at times but little prospect of a peaceful intercourse.[65]

Among other beliefs of the Rogerines, it is stated, "that it was contrary to their tenets to employ physicians or to use medicines in case of sickness," a peculiarity which, it was claimed (so far as it existed outside of the representations of their enemies), was received wholly and fully from the New Testament teachings. Their argument was that the Almighty had the willingness as he had the power to cure diseases, and in a less bungling and dangerous way than physicians, since Christ and his apostles had given the promise of such cures to those who asked in faith for this Almighty aid.

The *Chronicon Ephratense* also makes a mention of this peculiarity. So great was John Rogers' belief that his faith would save him from contagion, that when the small-pox raged so terribly in Boston in 1721, he journeyed one hundred miles to the infected city to prove his faith. He went, as had been his custom for over forty years, to assist in ministering to the sick of that disease. He, however, unfortunately this time caught the distemper and died of the disease, which developed after his return home, after having been the leader of the sect for over forty years.

According to the old town records there were two members of his family who died of the disease beside himself. As is shown in the *Chronicon* and other records, his successors kept on in the same course, yet it appears they were extremely long-lived and vigorous people; at all events, they were never known to flee from a distemper.

In connection with this subject there is an amusing legend which had anything but a tragic ending:

[65] Cf. *The Westerly Church Seventh Day Baptist Memorial*, N. Y., 1854, p. 116.

"A few years prior to the visit of the Ephrata Pilgrims, a certain cutaneous disorder broke out among the congregation, and their principles forbidding them the use of medicines, they were at loss what to do. In this dilemma a church meeting was called to deliberate upon the subject, how they might get rid of the disorder, and yet preserve a clear conscience in this respect. The conclusion arrived at was, that they resolved that this disorder (the Itch, or whatever else it might be called) was not a bodily ailment or infirmity, but should be considered a noxious animal, which they might innocently destroy. The usual remedies were accordingly used, the Itch eradicated, and, well! their conscience preserved."

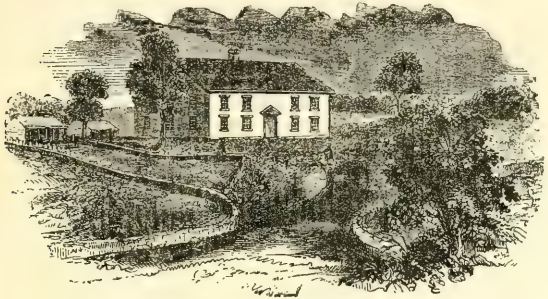
From another authentic source it is learned that there is good proof that in ordinary cases the Rogerines used the customary remedies and were excellent nurses, ever ready to minister to the sick, yet they undoubtedly believed by testimony of the New Testament in the efficacy of prayer under favorable circumstances, viz.,—special need of special providence in this regard.

To return to our Ephrata pilgrims at New London. After their release by the civil authorities, meetings were held and revivals instituted by their friends, the Rogerines, at which the brethren took an active part. At that time there was great religious excitement in Connecticut, the so-called "New Light movement"[66] being then at its height. Disputes took place at every meeting, where often the different parties gave vent to violent passion. It was here where the good judgment and sound doctrine of Brother Jaebez became manifest, seconded as he was by Alexander Mack, son of the Dunker patriarch, and the two Eckerlins, Onesimus and Jephune, when their voices were raised in the interest of peace and order, and it was soon shown that the presence of these four theosophists from the

[66] Vide *The History of Enfield, Conn.*, from the public documents, by Francis Olcott Allen, Esq., Lancaster, 1899.

Cocalico went far to ally the excitement which then rent the peace of New London and other Connecticut towns.[67]

After a short sojourn in New London an extended visit was made to the Sabbatarian brethren of the Newport and



OLD HOPKINTON (WESTERLY) MEETING-HOUSE, BUILT 1680, IN WHICH THE EPHRATA PILGRIMS PREACHED.

Westerly (Hopkinton) churches in Rhode Island, the accounts of which, although known to be still in existence, unfortunately were not accessible to the writer.

Upon their return from Rhode Island to New London, they were entertained by Ebenezer Bolles, one of the wealthiest and leading merchants of the place, a son of John Bolles, the noted disciple of John Rogers. The *Chronicon* mentions him as a "blessed, virtuous man," and says: "He, at that time, lived single, but married afterwards.[68] His death was brought about by poisonous wood, against which the principles of the Rogerines did

[67] Vide *Bi-Centennial Celebration First Church of Christ*, New London, Conn., 1870.

[68] The Ephrata brethren tried to persuade Ebenezer Bolles to remain in the single state as the most perfect and holy. Their arguments, however, had no effect upon him as he was married shortly after their departure, November 29, 1744.

not allow him the use of medicine. May God give him a blessed resurrection!"

The following extract from the *Connecticut Gazette* of July 10, 1762, gives us some additional information about this friend of the Ephrata brethren, viz.:

"We hear from London that on Thursday sen-night died there Mr. Ebenezer Bolles of that town, trader, esteemed a very honest and hospitable man. He left one child, a daughter, of about seventeen years of age, an estate of about £5000 lawful money. The occasion of his death was as follows: A few days before he had been cutting some vines or bushes which were of the Nox Quality, whereby he was poisoned, and his body swelled to a great degree; but being of the sect called by the name of Rogerines, who forbid the use of means in sickness, he would allow neither a physician[69] to be near him, nor the most simple medecine administered. Just before he expired, when in great pain,[70] he seemed desirous of some help but the brethren and sisters of that profession would not allow it, lest he should deny the faith."

When their determination to leave was made known to their friends in New London, which, according to the Ephrata MSS. at the time, "resembled a fruitful garden of God," passage was engaged and paid for the four pilgrims to New York, and when at last the day of departure arrived it was made a gala day in New London. A large concourse of persons of all denominations, among whom were many converted souls, accompanied the pilgrims to the wharf, and, after giving them numerous gifts and presents,—"that they returned home richer than when they left,"[71]—wished

[69] It is presumed that he objected to any physician, as he placed himself entirely in the hands of the Lord.—Ed.

[70] In November, 1899, a notice was published in a New London paper that Charles Bolles, when there, had almost died recently from the effects of poison ivy, and that none of the remedies prescribed by physicians had helped him in the least. It is a malady that does not yield easily to remedies.

[71] Ephrata MSS.

them God-speed and a safe and pleasant journey. Many on shore watched the sloop as she passed out into the Sound, and wafted their blessings after the departing strangers.



HUS ended the visit to New England. For what purpose it was really undertaken, whether in the interest of the Ephrata religious movement or to further the commercial ambitions of the Eckerlins, can only be surmised at the present day. Still, from a religious point of view, the visit, coming when it did, while Connecticut was rent with religious excitement, was opportune and productive of much good to the communities visited, and so well were the efforts of the brethren in the interest of peace and harmony appreciated that more or less communication was kept up between the New London Rogerines and the Ephrata Community for many years afterward; as is positively shown by the entry in the *Chronicon* of the death of Ebenezer Bolles and the attendant circumstances. This did not occur until 1762.

We left the pilgrims on board the sloop. The voyage to New York city was uneventful, but hardly had they set foot upon the shore when their strange monastic garb again attracted attention, and they were arrested on suspicion of being Jesuits from New Spain, and would have been thrown into prison had not a justice of the peace, who was acquainted with their circumstances, interceded and entered bail for for them.

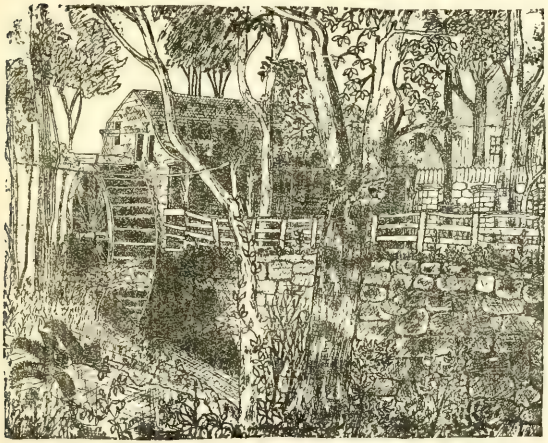
After their release they lost no time in shaking off the dust of the inhospitable town, and started on their long journey to Ephrata by way of Philadelphia. The road taken was from New York by water to Staten Island, thence across the Island to Elizabethtown Point, to Elizabethtown and Woodbridge, thence to the Raritan at New Brunswick, traversing a distance of forty miles, eleven of which was by water. From New Brunswick the journey on foot com-

menced across New Jersey to Trenton, a distance of twenty-seven miles, where the river was crossed into Pennsylvania. A stretch of thirty miles brought them once more to Philadelphia, where a stop was made at William Jung's for rest. Three days after they started on their weary tramp of eighty-six miles to Ephrata. The road chosen was over the old King's Highway to Lancaster, and thence by the Reading road to Ephrata. This course was taken on account of the lateness of the season and the bad condition of the roads, which, together with the shortness of the days and severe weather, interfered greatly with their progress and necessitated another short stop at Lancaster. Finally, however, the four weary and footsore pilgrims arrived within sight of Mount Zion just as the sun was setting back of the Furnace Hills in the west. Falling down upon their knees, they offered up a prayer of thanks for their safe return. A little further on a stop was made with a house-father, so timing themselves as to arrive at Zion while the Brotherhood were at their devotions, that they might once more hear the sweet cadence of the Ephrata Choir.

Great was the surprise of the assembled brotherhood to see the four gaunt, haggard figures silently file into the Saal and take their usual places. After fraternal greetings were over arrangements were made to hold a general love feast on the following Sabbath in Peniel to celebrate their safe return and listen to the greetings sent by the brethren at Amwell, Barnegat and New England, and the account of their extended pilgrimage. After this was over each of the four brethren returned to his regular routine of work and prayer, as if there had been no intermission.

An exact diary for itinerary was kept of this pilgrimage, from which, after their return, a full account was written of the whole journey and the doings of the participants in detail. This account was then handed to the Superintendent and became the property of the Brotherhood.

What became of this document is still a question. Tradition tells us that it was the handiwork of Onesimus, and was burned along with books and MSS. after the expulsion of the Eckerlins in the following year. This tradition may be true, but as a matter of fact Onesimus carried a number of his important books and MSS. away when he left the Community, and as several of these have, within the last few years, been found by the writer in his search after matter bearing upon the Community, the hope is fostered that the original itinerary of this journey may have escaped destruction and will yet be found and shed additional light upon these early pioneers who filled so important a part in in the religious history of Pennsylvania.



THE OLD TOWN MILL OF NEW LONDON.

## CHAPTER V.

### THE INDUSTRIAL FEATURE OF THE COMMUNITY.




EPHRATA SYMBOL.

UNDOUBTEDLY the four Eckerlin brothers were the organizers of the industrial and commercial features of the mystic settlement of the Cocalico. The various enterprises in which the solitary of both sexes engaged shortly after their organization, for a time bade fair to make the Community the greatest industrial establishment in America. It was the brain of Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin) that conceived the different enterprises which brought wealth into the coffers of the Kloster. During the few years that Onesimus remained in power the Brotherhood grew in riches and influence. With his expulsion by the Beissel party in 1745 most of the enterprises lapsed or were discontinued, the only exception being the printing-office, and it is a question whether even this was not

carried on more for the purpose of disseminating religious literature than for profit or gain.

The cultivation of the ground thus far had been the chief labor of the Brotherhood, and so primitive were their methods and scant their resources, that in the beginning they not only dragged the plow but even drew the cart. As the *Chronicon* states, "they were their own horses; when they traveled they went heavily laden like camels, and sometimes the whole Brotherhood might be seen trooping around the hill of Zion."

The first industry at Ephrata of which we have any record was the building of a bakehouse. This, our records say, was erected and operated in the interest of the poor settlers, no charge whatever being made for the bread or for the baking.

With the adoption of the communal life a change came over the scene, and as the Eckerlin brothers assumed charge of the government of the community plans were laid for developing the resources both of the land and of the people who composed the settlement. The idea was to make the community more than self-supporting.

One of the first movements, looking to the future, was the planting of a large orchard as well as a row of fruit trees which entirely surrounded the Kloster property. Attempts were also made to set out a vineyard on the hillside.

The next movement of importance was the acquiring of the mill seat on the Cocalico, at the foot of Zion Hill. Unfortunately there are no records known to the writer which would give the exact date when the Community came into possession of the mill property. This mill was a small grist mill, dating from the earliest days of the settlement of the valley. From the data in the *Chronicon* we find an allusion which places the purchase of the property at some time prior to the death of Agonius.[72]

[72] May 20, 1741.

After the property was acquired by the community its power was rapidly developed. The mill was rebuilt of stone and its capacity increased to three run of stones.

More than this, in a short space of time we find five different industries centering at this point. First, there was added a saw mill; then followed what perhaps may be called the most important one, the paper mill of the Brotherhood, wherein much of the paper was made that was used during the provincial period. There was also added within a few years a skillfully-built oil mill, with stones the like of which none existed in America. Much of the oil pressed at this mill was used to make the printer's ink required in the province. Looms for weaving both linen and cloth were set up. A fulling mill was also erected, where the cloth and homespun made in the community and in the vicinity were fulled and prepared for use.

A tannery was projected upon a large scale, where both tanning and tawing (*Roth und Weisgerberei*) were to be carried on. This was situated in the meadow, a short distance west of the Brother House. Extensive vats were dug and framed. The site of these pits can still be traced, and remains of them were yet visible within the recollection of some of the older residents.

A bark mill, for grinding the oak and hemlock bark, was also built, the large stone of which is said to be still doing duty in a neighboring bark mill.

The product of the Community tannery was called in derision *Jesuiten-leder* by such of the Germans as were inimical to the monastic community. This name, however, did not impair the quality of the leather, which was evidently like unto the other Kloster products—good, honest and in demand, as it was sold at a reasonable price. Specimens of this leather may still be found on some of the books printed and bound at Ephrata. Shoemaking was also carried on upon an extensive scale.

It is stated by some of the descendants of the early settlers that at one time a pottery was also operated by the Brotherhood, where a crude class of earthenware pottery was made, such as milk pots, pie dishes, etc. Specimens are shown with rude ornaments in the glazing, which, we are told, were made within the Kloster. A careful examination of the grounds and an exhaustive investigation within the Kloster confines fail to show any signs of either kiln or the attendant sherd, broken pieces, etc., such as are always to be found around a kiln site. Consequently, the writer is inclined to doubt whether this industry was ever carried on by the Brotherhood. There are evidences that earthenware pottery was made in the immediate vicinity, but it was probably an enterprise of members of the secular community.

Horses and wagons were procured to meet the demands of the various industries, and so greatly did these increase that three teams were almost constantly kept upon the road.

Quarries were also opened, and the stone prepared for building and other purposes. Stone bridges were projected and an effort made to improve the roads. Agencies were also established in Philadelphia and elsewhere for the purchase and sale of material and products. Among the persons who at some time acted as such agents we find the names of Johannes Wüster and Christopher Marshall.

Various interests were also started in the Community houses. One of the earliest of these was a bookbindery, which in 1742–3 was the largest and best equipped bindery in the colonies. It was the only one which could undertake to bind an edition of magnitude, as was shown in a previous chapter. Even the Sisterhood were not exempted from labor, as, in addition to their domestic, educational and musical duties, spinning, quilting, embroidery, the making of sulphur matches and other employments were carried on by them upon an extensive scale.

The most important enterprise, however, was undoubtedly

the installation of the printing press, for which the type, ink and paper were all furnished by the Brotherhood, who printed the sheets, bound the books and distributed the edition. The story of the Ephrata press will be told in the course of this narrative.

A visitor to the Cloister[73] about this period notes the following: "Each one performs with as much care as cheerfulness the particular work assigned to him. The product is placed in the common stock, serves to supply all needs, both public and private. They have manufactures and all the arts necessary, not only for their own use, but also for a little trade. They are very industrious. They own a corn mill, an oil mill, a paper mill, which their skill renders quite profitable. Their women specially excel in caligraphy, or the art of beautiful writing, and in embroidery."

Many were the plans laid by the Eckerlins to increase the income of the settlement and place the institution upon a good financial basis. It was designed to eventually replace the frame structures by great stone buildings, similar to the old monastic institutions of Europe. The first of these architectural monuments to be built was an imposing mausoleum on Zion Hill, for the repose of the Zionitic Brotherhood as they were called from time into eternity. For this purpose plans were drawn, stone was quarried and dressed, and other preparations made, which were only interrupted by the expulsion of the Eckerlins from the settlement.

When the successful issue of the efforts of the Eckerlins commenced to bear fruit Conrad Beissel, as the spiritual leader of the settlement, conjectured that the success of these commercial ventures was not only raising up a rival to himself, but that the worship of Mammon would soon extinguish the fires of religion upon the altars if the greed

[73] *Histoire Naturelle et Politique de la Pennsylvania.* Paris, 1768.

for gain and the accumulation of wealth was not speedily checked. This soon brought about a rivalry between Beissel and the ambitious prior, Onesimus, and ended with a division of the Brotherhood and an estrangement among the Sisterhood, the prioress siding with the opponents of Beissel. For some time previous to this rupture, matters both spiritual and secular, were in the hands of Israel Eckerlin, under whose able management the industrial and commercial ventures prospered and the wealth of the Zionitic Brotherhood increased.

So far as the spiritual affairs of the Community were concerned, ritualistic and ceremonial innovations were introduced, in which the prior and prioress figured as chief actors. Special robes were now made for the prior according to his design and directions, for use in the various functions of his office. They were the handiwork of the sisters, and were different from anything thus far used in the Community. Thus, a distinctive robe was designed, which he put on when officiating at a baptism. Another costume, assumed upon high feasts when officiating before the two orders, was patterned after that of the Jewish high priest, as described in the Book of Exodus. As a model they used a picture in an old German Bible, which fortunately has come down to us, and is here reproduced. Tra-



dition states that it was followed even to the row of tinkling bells. The prior even went so far as to have a jeweled breastplate made, which, according to the *Chronicon,* he wore as a "sign that he had to bear the sins of his people on his breast, to which fancy, it is reported, he clung till death."

The prior now constituted Maria Eicher, the superintendent of the Sisterhood, an abbess, who forthwith bedecked herself with insignia and robes similar to those worn in the monastic institutions of Rome. Henceforth, for a time, Prior Onesimus and Abbess Maria revelled in ecclesiastical pomp and show, and assumed the whole management and direction of the Community.

The humiliation of Beissel was now complete. Nominally he was still the superintendent, but, as a matter of fact, he was completely ignored by the aggressive prior and his supporters, who gradually deposed him from all power and forced him to retire to one of the small cabins, where he remained for a time, sick and neglected by all but a few faithful ones of both orders. As the *Chronicon* says: "During which time the Superintendent sat in his house, forsaken by God, men and angels, whereof no judgment could be passed against him, since he did not lay claim to any good for himself."

At last, however, Beissel summoned enough strength to overthrow the opposing party and expelled the leaders, and as he thereby swept away, as it were, the commercial features, the settlement, for a time at least, became again a spiritual community.

At the time of the expulsion of the Eckerlins the mills of the Community were crowded with orders to their utmost capacity. At the saw mill piles of logs were awaiting the turn to be sawed into timber and boards. In the paper mill the demand was so great for the Ephrata product that orders could only be filled in the distant future. To supply which

it had been necessary to collect a large stock of rags and have them ready to put under the stampers as opportunity offered. The demands upon the capacity of the grist and oil mills were even more pressing, as they were not alone run upon the grist or toll system, but upon the merchant principle as well. Wheat, grain and seed were bought outright by the Brethren and stored in granaries until it could be milled into flour or oil, and then sold at a good profit in the Philadelphia markets.

To operate these varied interests a number of horses, oxen, wagons and employees were required, together with agents and correspondents at different trade centers. All of this needed a head with executive ability and a mind strong enough to control the working forces and opposing influences within the Community.

Such was the condition at Ephrata in September, 1745. With the exit of the Eckerlins an immediate change took place. The mills were summarily closed and the announcement was made that all contracts were cancelled, standing orders would be filled, after which no grain, wheat, seed, logs or rags would be purchased by the Brotherhood, excepting such as would be required for the uses of the Community. Following this notice all horses, wagons and oxen were sold and the employees discharged, after which the great industrial establishment on the Cocalico settled down to the humdrum existence of a country mill seat. One of the chief incentives for such drastic measures was, to refute the charges made by envious neighbors, "that the Brotherhood were in reality merely a company of buyers and traders." The demands upon the Brotherhood for the products of their mills, however, continued in spite of the severe retrenchment. The excellence of their flour, the weight of the oil and the quality of the paper and cardboard, of which they were the only makers in America, all combined to create a market for the Kloster products. No

effort, however, was made in after years to again extend the business or cater for any except home demand.

Thus things went on until the night of December 5th, 1747. It was toward morning, December 6th, when a great calamity overtook the Kloster Community. This was nothing less than the destruction of three of the mills by fire. The annalist of the Kloster, commenting upon the calamity, writes:

"On December 5th, 1747, which was Sabbath, the following important circumstance happened, when, according to custom, the Brethren, after supper on that day, had allotted the work for the week in presence of the superintendent, and had ordered that these Brethren should work at the printing press, others in the book bindery, several in the paper mill and flour mill, and others again at shoemaking, etc. The superintendent spoke these weighty words in conclusion: 'I now withdraw again from all that has been done, and leave it to God, in order to see what kind of a trial will come to me through this whole affair. For as yet I have no proof at hand by which I could know that God approves it," etc. But when every person in the settlement was wrapped in the first sleep, and the millers were going to the work assigned them, on their way they saw the mill all in flames. They, therefore, gave the necessary alarm in the whole settlement."

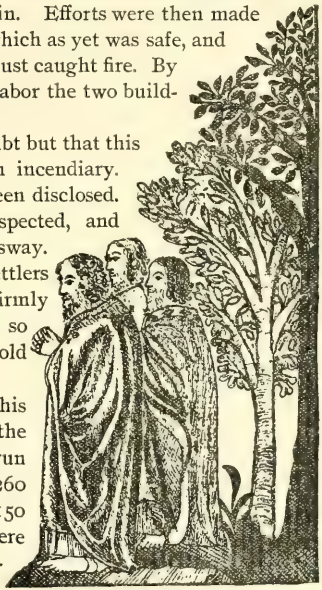
Almost immediately the sharp tones of the alarm bells rang out loud and far in the frosty night's air; the tones, mingling with the shrill shriek of the conch, blown from the Sister House, soon awoke everyone within the settlement and adjoining farm-houses.

Everybody within call, the Brethren and Sisters of the Cloister, followed by the men, women and children of the households, all ran to the fire, which by this time brightly illuminated the horizon, on what Lamech calls "one of the coldest nights of the whole winter." Quickly the ice was broken in both mill race and dam, and lines formed by the women from the water to the fire, and, while the men, at one

end, filled the buckets, the women passed them from hand to hand until they reached the men at the other end who poured the water upon the fire; a second line of children and the weaker women returned the empty buckets to the men, who refilled them. Thus a steady stream of water was poured upon the fire.

It was soon evident that all efforts to extinguish the burning mills would be in vain. Efforts were then made to save the paper mill, which as yet was safe, and the saw mill, which had just caught fire. By a united effort and hard labor the two buildings were saved.

There can be little doubt but that this fire was the work of an incendiary. Who it was has never been disclosed. Many persons were suspected, and Madam Rumor had full sway. Among many of the settlers in the township it was firmly believed that Beissel, if so disposed, might have told how the fire originated.



Beissel, Jaebez and Onesimus.
From an old Kloster sketch.

Within four hours on this frosty night the whole of the flour mill, with its three run of stones, together with 260 bushels of wheat and 150 bushels of other grain, were consumed. A skillfully-built oil mill, with stones, the like of which none before existed in America, besides a large store of oil and above 500 bushels of flaxseed, together with a complete fulling mill (*walck-mühle*), with all that belongs to it, fell a prey to the devouring element.

"Thus," Lamech continues, "did the fire, with God's permission, make an end to all the mammon which the Eckerlins, by their flaying, scraping and miserly conduct, had gathered in the former household."

Agrippa, in a foot-note, adds: "Although this mill was the cause of the Solitary Brethren engaging in all kinds of worldly pursuits, in opposition to their heavenly calling, it nevertheless must be acknowledged that it was of great benefit to the household, for the poor solitaries have obtained their bread by it now for nearly fifty years."

After the fire a new danger threatened the Community, as all of the flour was consumed, and the loaves in the bakery would not last the week out. Then, again, there was little or no money in the treasury wherewith to feed the eighty Solitary, much less to rebuild the destroyed mills. In this dilemma an appeal was made to God and the house fathers of the secular community. As the mill was a necessity, the latter agreed to contribute both money, labor and material, provided they were accorded a one-half interest. This was granted them, and they immediately transferred their title to the Sisterhood.

The rebuilding was now begun with great energy, although it was in the coldest season of the year. The Brotherhood were aided in their tribulation and labors by many of the Lutherans in the valley, who gave timber and helped with their teams, a favor which the Brotherhood gratefully acknowledged and returned a few years later when the Lutherans built their church. So rapidly did the work proceed that by the first week in February one set of burrs was ready to put into operation.

The other two mills were also rebuilt during the spring, but, from a somewhat ambiguous note in Acrelius' account of his visit in 1753, it would appear that the fulling mill again fell a prey to the flames shortly before his visit, an incident which does not appear in the *Chronicon*, viz.:

"The mills which belong to the convent are both a useful and an ingenious work. There are flour, saw and paper mills, a fulling mill and a flaxseed oil press at the same place and operated with the same power. The greater part of their support is derived from the oil press. The flour mill makes good flour, so that in view of this, and also because the toll is moderate, the people pass by other mills to come to this one. The saw mill is also in a good condition. The paper mill makes the best kind of card paper. The fulling mill was burnt down." About this Miller related "that one evening, when the Brethren were together consulting about the next day's work, word came that the mill was in flames. That was occasioned by the carelessness of some of the Brethren who did not look after the fire before they went away from it." [74]

Two years after Acrelius' visit, August 2, 1755, Johannes Bauman and wife Margaretha, donated for the use of the Brotherhood, for a period of thirty years, their mill seat and several acres of land. This was on the Cocalico, just south of the present turnpike, and was the forerunner of the large flour mill west of the bridge, described in our second chapter.[75]

The Brotherhood operated this mill as a paper mill, thus running two mills for that purpose.

Thus matters went on until the close of the Revolution, when, on account of the increase of population, the demands upon the *Kloster Mühle* again became beyond its capacity. Consequently, after peace was declared, arrangements were made to enlarge the grist mill and increase its capacity. Upon this occasion the large tablet, with its Latin inscription, was placed in the front wall, this set forth:

*Deo propitio restauratui | pro bono publico impen | sis Societatis Ephratensis | Anno MDCCLXXXIV post | ordinem fundatum Lmo Fun- | datorisque obitum XVII.*

[74] Visit of Provost Magister Acrelius to the Ephrata Cloister, August 20, 1753.

[75] Vol. i, pp. 8–20.

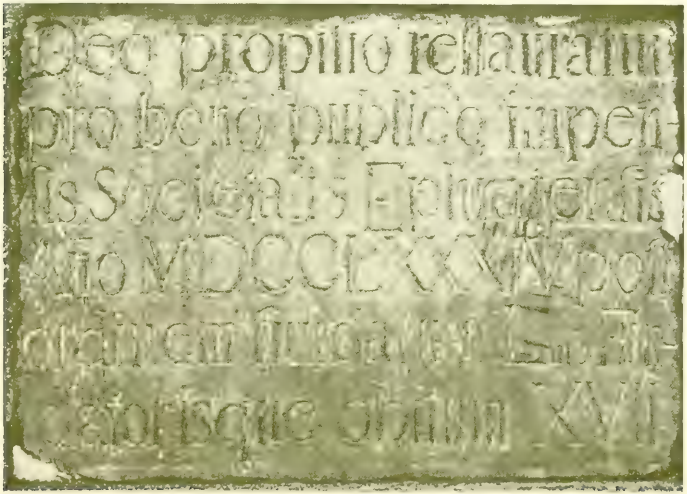
[Translation.—Restored by the favor of God and for the public good, at the expense of the Ephrata Society, in the year 1784, the fiftieth after the founding of the order and after the death of the founder the seventeenth.]

Hardly had the work been finished and the burrs were once again grinding the golden grain when, upon the night of the 1st of September, 1784, between 2 and 3 o'clock in the morning, some miscreant again set the mill afire. Luckily the flames were discovered and the alarm given, when the scenes of thirty-seven years ago were repeated, but with a happier result, as the fire was conquered by the united efforts of the men and women before much damage was done. Agrippa, referring to the above, tells us that "envious people dared to burn it down again and to start the fire in a place which was overfilled with combustible material, occasioning a terrible conflagration, which, however, was early discovered and extinguished."

The old mill seat of the Kloster, which for so many years provided a competency for the Community, has undergone many changes of ownership and management since the days when it was run *pro bono publico* by the Brotherhood of Ephrata. It is still run as a grist mill and grinds the grain and chops the feed for the surrounding farming community, and an advertisement, now before the writer, sets forth that the flour made at this mill is still the same stone-pressed, ground flour as made in the days of the Zionitic Mystics.

A visit to the old mill seat shows the changes of time. The oil mill, with its ingenious machinery; the paper mill, with its stampers, vats and sieves, and the fulling mill, with its noisy rattle, have long since passed away. Not even the foundations of these buildings are to be traced. Even the regular travel has been deflected by way of Gross' Corner. A bridge now spans the creek, and the old ford, still plainly discernible, is rarely used.

The grist and saw mill, however, still grinds and saws,




TABLET IN THE BROTHERHOOD MILL.

fed by the Cocalico as of yore. The large piles of logs of old are missing, the grists often few. The hooded Kloster Bruder has long since given place to the plain, every-day miller, and the time is evidently not far off when even the old burrs will give place to the modern iron roller.

The upper mill seat, known as the "Bauman" Mill, near the turnpike bridge, was also enlarged in 1791, and later was used exclusively for making paper and card board. We now find in its place a large modern steam flouring mill. All that is left to remind the passerby of the olden time is the ancient date stone A° 1791.

Both mill seats have long since passed from the ownership of the Sabbatarian congregation, which now holds sway over the old Kloster confine on the Cocalico.



## CHAPTER VI.

### THE MUSIC OF THE CLOISTER.



DESIGN IN KLOSTER MUSIC BOOK.

ONE of the most unique features of the Ephrata Cloister was the peculiar music which originated with the Community on the Cocalico.

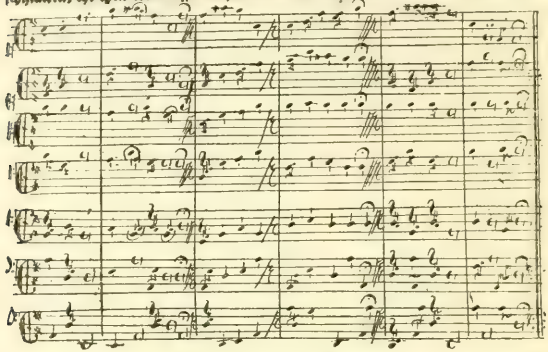
Numerous specimens in MSS. of this music have been preserved in the beautiful penmanship of the Kloster writing-room, a number of which pieces will be described and illustrated in the course of this chapter. Most of these melodies are set for four parts, many for two parts. In the great choir book we find tunes set in five, six and seven parts. There was also a folio volume of anthems, all of which were set in seven parts.

The rendition of this music was as peculiar as the music itself, and was sung in a falsetto voice without opening wide the lips. The result was a "soft measured cadence of sweet harmony." The true Ephrata vocal music virtually died out with the Community.

Early in the present century the style was still preserved and used at the Snowhill "Nunnery." Their singing, however, was weak in comparison with the old Ephrata choir. Still even this, it is said, when once heard could never be forgotten. The writer, during his many years of research in the history of these people, has met two persons who were familiar with the proper rendition. Brother Obed (Snowberger), of Antietam, who, in his youthful days, sang in the choir at Snowhill, and upon several occasions, in his old days, tried to give me an example of his singing. In a note to the writer (1890) he says that the choir singing of the Snowhill Institute was usually in five parts, but upon one occasion he heard Elizabeth Snowberger sing the sixth part. The other was an old brother from Bedford county, then in his 93d year, and who, in his boyhood, while going to the school of the Brotherhood at Ephrata, heard the music in the Brother saal and gave a vivid description of how the responses were sung by the females from their latticed gallery.

Of late years, since the decline of the Snowhill institution, the mode of rendition has been entirely forgotten and lost. It is now a great pleasure for the writer to be able to give once again the key to these native Pennsylvania-German harmonies. This was found by a careful study of the different MS. exercises and the dissertations of Beissel upon his art of singing. Careful translations of both have been made. The transposition into modern notation of the musical exercises and tunes are by a gentleman of Philadelphia who has made a study of hymn tunes and melodies, and has kindly transposed for the writer a few of the Ephrata chorals and anthems into modern notation, specimens of which are reproduced in the course of this chapter. Acknowledgments are also due him for suggestions during the course of the translation of the technical dissertation.

GOTT ein Herrscher aller Heyden, der sein Volck bald wird herrlich leiten, und ihr Recht lassen hoch hergehn: wenn ER Zion schön wird schmücken, ihr Heil wird lassen näher rücken, so wird man Freud und Wonne sehn



an Sanem Eigenthum, das nun giebt Preiß und Ruhm GOTT dein König, der sie erhöht, ihr Völcker sehet wie GOttes Braut nun einhergeht. 196.



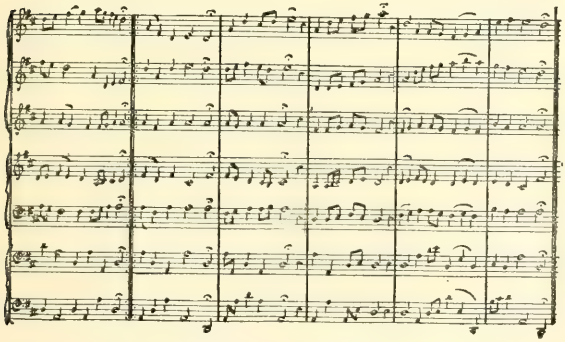
SEVEN PART EPHRATA CHORAL.

From original MSS., *Paradisisches Wunder-spiel*, vide Appendix A.

GOTT ein Herrscher aller Heyden, der sein Volck bald wird herrlich leiten, und ihr Recht lassen hoch hergehn: wenn ER Zion schön wird schmücken, ihr Heil wird lassen naher rücken, so wird man Freud und Wonne sehn



an Seinem Eigenthum, das nun giebt Preiß und Ruhm GOTT dem Könige, der sie erhöht, ihr Völcker sehet wie GOttes Braut nun einhergeht. 196.



SEVEN PART EPHRATA CHORAL.

(Transposed into modern notation.)

The first melodies used by the Dunker congregation in America and the Sabbatarian brethren on the Conestoga consisted chiefly of the severe German and Genevan chorals. These peculiar psalm tunes, which came into use after the Reformation, were not set in harmony but were sung in unison, and were originally adopted by the Genevan authorities so as to get as far away as possible from Rome.

In the three earliest hymn books of Beissel the old German choral melodies predominate, there being but few from Lobwasser's psalm tunes found in either the *Göttliche Liebes u. Löbes Gethöne* (1730) *Vorspiel der Neuen welt* (1732), or *Jacobs Kampff und Ritterplatz*, 1736.[76] In the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, however, which was printed after the Tulpehocken revival, the Genevan or Lobwasser psalm tunes are much more in evidence, which was evidently due to the influence of Rev. Peter Miller.

There can be but little doubt that these peculiar psalm tunes of the Geneva church formed the melodies for Beissel's hymns, from the time of the conversion of Peter Miller until the advent of Ludwig Blum, a musician—in an old record the name is written Plum—who introduced the English harmony from which Beissel quickly evolved a system of music of his own, and one peculiar to the celibates on the Cocalico.

The chief peculiarity of the Ephrata music consisted in the fact that the music, although barred, was free, and that the accent of the word ruled, rather than the accent of the bar, the music in every case being subservient to the words.

The true musical value of the note, as understood in modern music, was not thought of; the first and other notes were frequently lengthened, probably to enable the voices to steady themselves, and the emphasized words in the course of the hymns were also frequently lengthened, so that we find indiscriminately three, four, five, six, yes, even seven notes

[76] For fac-simile of titles see Vol. I.

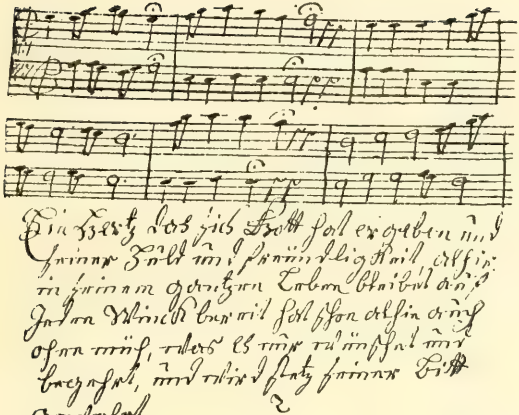


Illustration of Earliest Ephrata Music.

From MS. Hymn Book used at Amwell about 1735. Original in possession of Miss Anna Murty, Lewisburg, Penna.

in the bar, which in modern music would have but four. All of the music for the upper parts is in the C clef, which until recently was usually adopted, as by its use all of the notes of an air could be kept within the staff, and this obviated the use of leger lines. Beissel, however, in many cases had to use leger lines on account of the tremendous compass of his voice.



ILLUSTRATION OF TWO PART EPHRATA MUSIC, "GOTT WIR KOMMEN DIR ENTGEGEN."

It is recorded[77] that when the Kloster was in its halcyon days they had over one thousand pieces of original music. Some of this was set in two parts, first and second, for social praise of two together;[78] the same set in four parts, and again the same set in five parts, which latter was the arrangement generally used in public worship.

The same curious manuscript goes on to state that

"Beissel took his style from the music of nature, and the whole of it, comprising several large volumes, is founded on the tones of the Æolian harp; the singing, in a word, is the Æolian harp harmonized. It is very peculiar in its style and concords, and in its execution. The tones issuing from the choir imitate very soft instrumental music, carrying a softness and devotion almost superhuman to the auditor. Their music is set in two, four, five and seven parts. All the parts save the bass, which is set in two parts, are led and sung exclusively by the females,[79] the men being confined to the high and low bass. The latter, resembling the deep tones of the organ, and the former in combination with one of the female parts, the contrast produces an excellent imitation of the concert horn [hautboy]. The whole is sung in the falsetto voice,

which throws the sound up to the ceiling, and the melody, which seems to be more than human (at least so far from common church music), appears to be descending from above and hovering over the heads of the assembly."

The first evidence we have of any departure from the rugged chorals of Lobwasser was at the first general conference of the Brethren, held at the house of Martin Urner on Whitsunday, May 21, 1727, when Beissel introduced alternate singing by classes or choirs. This has already been described in the former volume.[80] That Conrad Beissel did not elaborate upon this feature at that time is amply shown by the "Melodien Register" of the various hymn books published by the congregation prior to the arrival of Ludwig Blum, who, it appears, came to the community after the *Weyrauchs Hügel* was printed, and who, undoubtedly, first introduced the English harmony to the notice of Beissel, who subsequently evolved the system of music and singing peculiar to the Ephrata Community.

The *Chronicon*, in introducing the subject, states:

"Thus far they (the Solitary) had sought self-sacrifice in hard labor, but now the Superintendent was urged by his Guide to establish higher schools, of which the singing school was the beginning. This science belongs more to the angelic world than to ours. The principles of it are not only the same all over the world, but the angels themselves, when they sang at the birth of Christ, had to make use of our rules. The whole art consists of seven notes, which form two-thirds and one octave, which are always sung in such a way that you do not hear the tone which stands between two notes, thus occasioning a sweet dissonance, which renders the art a great wonder.

[77] Fahnestock's MSS. in library of the writer.

[78] Specimen in the collection of the writer.

[79] This refers to choir music when both Orders were present. At the services of the Brotherhood four part music was used,—tenor, discant and bass.

[80] Volume i, pp. 128, 129.

It is also remarkable that, although so great confusion of languages arose, the singing remained untouched. But as everything necessary in the settlement had to be stolen from the world spirit, so also in respect to singing. The Superintendent did not know anything about it, except some notes which he had learned on the violin; but a certain house father, by the

Wunderbarer König! Herrscher von uns allen.[81]



Specimen Tune from Weyrauchs Hügel.



Reduced to Modern Notation.

name of Ludwig Blum, was a master singer and was also versed in composition. He once brought some artistic pieces to the Superintendent, which induced him to make use of the brother in his church building.

"Now those of the Solitary, of whom about seventy of both sexes were in the settlement, were selected, who had talent for singing, and the above-mentioned Ludwig Blum, together with

[81] *Weyrauchs Hügel*, Hymn No. 630. The melody is an old German choral "Zion's Hoffnung Kommet," MS. *Noten Buch*, p. 100.

the Superintendent, arranged a singing school in the settlement, and everything prospered for a time. But the sisters at last complained to the Superintendent that they were sold to one man, and petitioned him to manage the school himself, saying that they would steal the whole secret of the schoolmaster and hand it over to him. The Superintendent soon perceived that this advice came from God, for, as the event proved, quite different things were hidden under it, for which the good schoolmaster's hands were not made. And now the sisters told the Superintendent everything they had learned in the school, and as soon as they saw that he had mastered the art they dismissed their schoolmaster, at which he took such offence that he left the settlement and did not walk with them any more."

Nothing definite has been found thus far in either the Ephrata or county records that would shed any further light upon the history of Ludwig Blum. That he was a man of family and an accomplished musician when he came to the valley of the Cocalico is shown by the *Chronicon*, which designates him as a house father and master singer. By an entry in the register of the community it appears that his wife died some time in 1739. From an ambiguous entry in Brother Obediah's diary it would appear that she was the mother of Sister Migtonia.

"1739. *Starb der Schwester Migtonia Mutter und des Ludwig Blum sein weib.*"

The name does not appear again in either register or diary.

The development of the Ephrata system of music was a gradual one, and it took several years to bring it and the voices of the different choruses to perfection, in all of which Conrad Beissel was now the master spirit. Another of the curious phases of this movement was the method by which Beissel produced, or claimed to produce, the voices, some of which had a compass of two octaves. This was, to put the different classes upon a distinctive diet, so regulated as

to affect the vocal chords and mold them and give forth the required pitch of the class. Thus the diet for the bass singers was entirely different from the tenor voices, while the second bass and baritone varied as greatly as that selected for soprano and alto. Just what these special diets were is not known, as their rules were evidently in manuscript and have long since been lost or destroyed.

In Beissel's preface to the *Turtle Taube*, printed in 1747, some mention is made therein of these special diets, which will appear later on.

To a successful cultivation of this music Beissel taught that purity of heart and spirit, and a clean, godly life was absolutely requisite. Further, "that godly virtue must be at the source of our whole walk, because by it you obtain favor with the spirit of singing, which is the Holy Spirit."

After Beissel assumed the rôle of *Capell Meister* he held a singing school upon certain evenings in the sister house. The sessions lasted four hours, during the third, fourth, fifth and sixth hours of their notation corresponding to ours from eight o'clock to midnight. To further inculcate the necessity of purity of heart and mind he required the scholars to appear in snow white garments, a rule to which he strictly adhered himself. Upon the nights when the singing classes met the brethren who attended would walk in procession, led by Brother Jephune, from the Zion convent, on the hill, down to the sister house in the meadow. Being dressed in white, they presented a spectral scene as they slowly wended their way down the hillside. Their return was in the same manner, and so timed that they arrived at their convent in time for the midnight mass.

Beissel ruled these classes with an iron hand, and the least sign of levity or frivolity at once drew down upon the offender the wrath of the leader, a course which caused frequent changes in the personnel of the classes. One of the most prominent of the members, who refused to submit

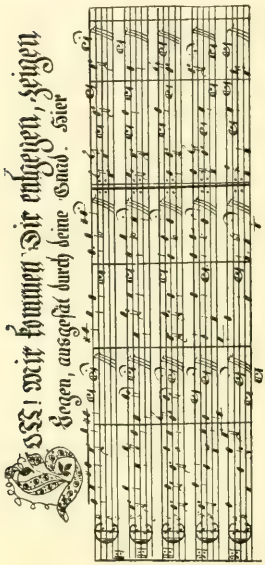
to the arbitrary rulings of Beissel, was Brother Jephune (Samuel Eckerlin) and the waning of whose influence is dated from this fact. That these classes were not always harmonious gatherings and before long led to a serious interruption in the study of their music, is shown by the following note in the *Chronicon:*

"The Superintendent conducted the school with great sternness, so that whoever did not know him, might have thought him to be a man of unchecked passions. At times he scolded for one or two hours in succession, especially when he saw that they were under a ban, and at such times he looked really majestic, so that even his countenance glistened. When the Sisters saw that a continual quarreling was going on in their school, they took counsel among themselves to find out the cause of this dissension, and came at last to the conclusion that it must be in the difference of sex, and, therefore, determined to give up the school. But they were greatly mistaken in the cause. It was the very opposite. For God assigned to him a dangerous post, where many a saint had already lost his crown; besides some had even tried to cut off his locks, and who knows whether some such people were not among his choir. Meanwhile they sent a sister, Tabea by name, who was bold enough for such a mission, to inform the Superintendent that they would break off all connection with the school entirely. Thereupon the Superintendent asked them whether they would free him of all responsibility before God, to which they answered 'Yes.' Thus was the spiritual union between the Superintendent and Sisters sundered by this imprudent counsel, and he entirely withdrew his favor from their house."

This break, however, was of but short duration. Sister Tabea[82] who was the leader of the revolt, and in the meantime had promised a young man to lay aside the habit of the Order and enter the married state; at the last moment, while dressed for the ceremony, repented and dismissed her bridegroom, and once again entered her *kammer* in the

[82] Anna Thomann.

Sisterhouse. Her actions influenced the Sisterhood to again submit to the guardianship of Beissel. The singing class of the Sisters was now reorganized under the leadership of Sister Tabea, henceforth known as *Anastasia*. After the practice of some weeks the choir of Sisters under leadership of Anastasia, went into the general meeting and sang the hymn, *Gott wir kommen dir Entgegen*[83] [God, we come to meet thee], with five voices.



Hymn as Sung by Anastasia's Choir, Fac-simile of Original Score.

Gott wir kommen Dir entgegen,
Zeigen unsre Frucht der Saat,
Die wir, unter deinem Segen,
Ausgesäet durch deiner Gnad.
Hier sind wir, und zeigen an
Was du uns hast gethan.

This was one of Beissel's own favorite compositions. The score of the original music of this hymn is shown in fac-simile on this page.

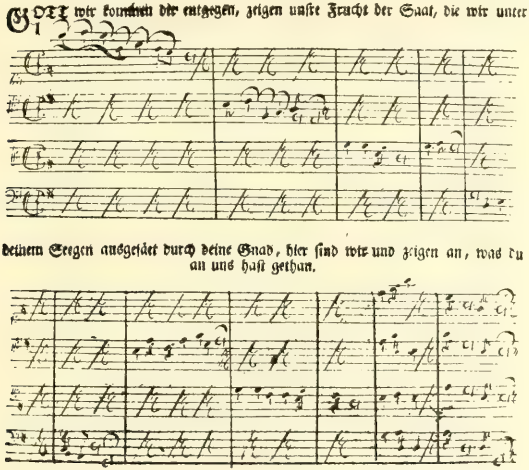
So effectively was this rendered that it was at once demanded that the singing-school be reopened, and members of the Secular Congregation be given equal privileges for instruction with the Solitary.

This fresh enthusiasm, however, was not without opposition. One of the house-fathers even publicly offered a testimony and wrote against it; a course which only had the effect of drawing forth a reprimand from Beissel. Henceforth, the singing-school and study of musical har-

[83] *Turtle Taube*, Hymn No. 13. *Zionitische Rosen Garten*, melody, No. 66, p. 27.

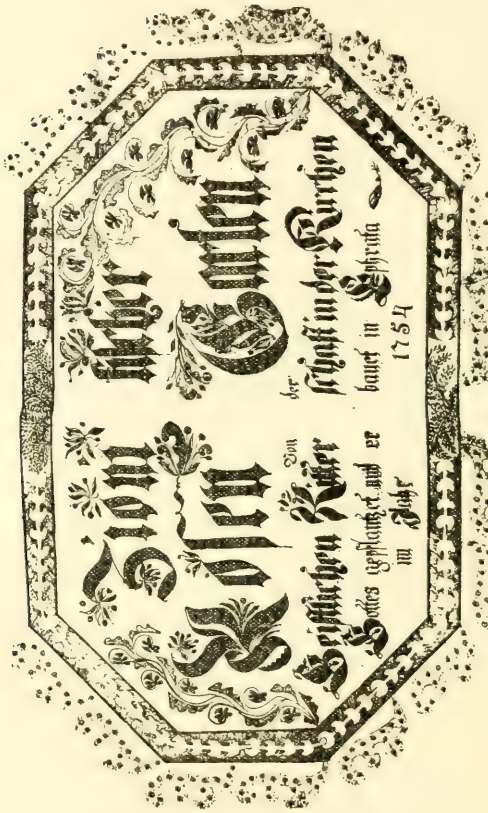
mony became a permanent feature of the Ephrata settlement. Again referring to the record we find:

"After the Superintendent had, with much trouble, broken the ice and taught the first principles of singing to the scholars, he divided them into five choirs, with five persons to each choir, namely, one air, one tenor, one alto and two bass singers. The Sisters were divided into three choirs, the upper, middle and lower; and in the choruses a sign was made for each choir, when to be silent and when to join in the singing. These three choirs had their separate seats at the table of the Sisters during love feasts, the upper choir at the upper end, the middle at the middle, and the lower at the lower end. In singing antiphonally, there-



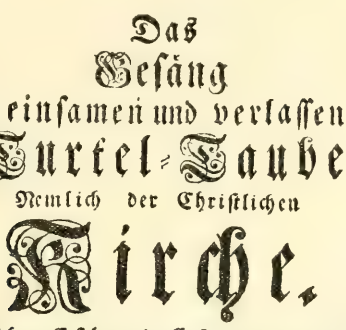

"GOTT WIR KOMMEN DIR ENTGEGEN" ARRANGED AS A FOUR PART ANTHEM. From MS. *Wunderspiel.*

fore, the singing went alternately up and down the table. Not only had each choir to observe its time when to join in, but, because there were solos in each chorale, every voice knew when to keep silent, all of which was most attentively observed."




ORNATE TITLE OF MANUSCRIPT TUNE BOOK OF "TURTLE TAUBE."

The study and practice of this music now became an established feature of the Ephrata institution. It also stimulated the poetic muse of the Solitary, both male and female, and resulted in a great number of hymns being composed by the inmates of the Kloster and set to tunes of their own.


Das
Gesäng
Der einsamen und verlassenen
Turtel-Taube
Nemlich der Christlichen
Kirche,
Oder geistliche u. Erfahrungs-volle Leidens u. Liebes-Gethöne,
Als darinnen beydes die Vorkost der neuen Welt als
auch die darzwischen vorkommende Creutzes- und Leidens-
Wege nach ihrer Würde dargestellt, und in
geistliche Reimen gebracht
Von einem Friedsamen und nach der
stillen Ewigkeit wallenden
Pilger.
Und nun
Zum Gebrauch der Einsamen und Verlassenen zu Zion
gesammlet und ans Licht gegeben
EPHRATA.
Drucks der Brüderschafft im Jahr 1747.

FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE.

These new hymns and tunes gradually replaced those of the *Weyrauch's Hügel*, and a demand arose for a new hymn-

book. This was printed in 1747 and issued as a small quarto, seven and one-half inches by six inches, under the title of: *Das Gesäng der einsamen und Verlassenen Turtel Taube.*

*Das | Gesäng | Der einsamen und verlassenen | Turtel-Taube | Nemlich der Christlichen | Kirche.—Oder geistliche u. Erfahrungs-volle Leidens u. Liebes-Gethöne, | Als darinnen beydes die Vorkost der neuen Welt als | auch die darzwischen vorkommende Creutzes-und Leidens- | Wege nach ihrer Würde dargestellt, und in | geistliche Reimen gebracht | Von einem Friedsamen und nach der | stillen Ewigkeit wallenden | Pilger.—Und nun | Zum gebrauch der Einsamen und Verlassenen zu Zion | gesammlet und ans Licht gegeben. | Ephrata. | Drucks der Brüderschaft im Jahr 1747.*

[Translation.—The Song of the Solitary and Deserted Turtle-Dove, namely the Christian Church; or spiritual and experienceful—songs of Love and Sorrow, as therein both, a foretaste of the new world as well as the intervening roads of the cross and sorrow are presented according to their dignity in spiritual rhymes.

By one who is a peaceful and striving pilgrim toward the Silent Eternity; and now gathered together and brought to light for the use of the Solitary and Deserted in Zion.

Collation.—Foreword, 5 pp.; Preface, 14 pp.; Text, 495 pp., Index, 7 pp.]

This was, so far as we know, the first hymn-book printed at Ephrata, and contains only original material.

Sixteen brothers and twenty-three sisters contributed no less than ninety-six hymns to this unique collection. The remaining two hundred and seventy-five are supposed to be the work of Conrad Beissel. The names of the contributors taken from a marked copy in the library of the writer are as follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Agabus | 1 | Euphrosina | 3 |
| Agonius | 16 | Eugenia | 3 |
| Eleazer | 1 | Foeben (Phœbe) | 4 |
| Elkanah | 1 | Flavia | 3 |
| Gideon | 1 | Genoveva | 2 |
| Jaebez | 7 | Hanna | 1 |
| Jethro | 4 | Jael | 2 |
| Joel | 3 | Keturah | 5 |
| Martin | 2 | Maria (Prioress) | 5 |
| Nathan | 1 | Naemy | 3 |
| Nehemiah | 1 | Paulina | 3 |
| Philemon | 3 | Persida | 2 |
| Salma | 1 | Priscam | 1 |
| Theonis | 2 | Rahel | 2 |
| Abigail | 1 | Sophia | 1 |
| Anastasia | 1 | Tabea | 1 |
| Basilla | 1 | Theckla | 1 |
| Drusiana | 2 | Theresia | 2 |
| Effigenia | 1 | Zenobia | 1 |

Some time after the expulsion of the Eckerlins, a collection of these tunes was made, from which all effusions of the Eckerlins or their adherents was carefully eliminated. Three hundred and sixty-six of these melodies were gathered into a volume under the title: *Zionitscher Rosen Garten von der Geistlichen Ritterschafft in der Kirchen Gottes, gepflantzet und Erbauet in Ephrata in Jahr 1745.*

A number of copies were laboriously made by both the brethren and sisters for the use of their choirs. Among these books are to be found the finest specimens of the Ephrata writing-rooms.

The music for the new hymn-book was set in five parts for the full choir where both orders joined in worship, and in four parts for ordinary worship of the sisterhood in their chapel. For the uses of the secular congregation the tunes

were set in two parts and frequently written on the margin of the printed page. (See illustration on page 134.)

The whole collection is divided into five parts:

What is called *Vorrede von der Singarbeit* (preface about the art of singing), is really a treatise on harmony written




FIVE PART CHORAL FROM MS. TUNE BOOK OF THE BROTHERHOOD.

Hymn No. 98 in fourth part of the *Turtle Taube*, words and music by Sister Annastasia (Anna Thomen).

by Conrad Beissel, and sets forth the fundamental rules of the Ephrata choral music. Written in his peculiar harsh style and veiled in mystical phraseology, this dissertation is exceedingly difficult to understand at the present day. Yet it is of the greatest importance to the student of Pennsylvania German history, as well as to such as take an interest in the development of native music and its literature.

Brother Agrippa (in the *Chronicon*), in commenting upon the revival of the music or singing-school, says:

"Beissel explained the first principles of singing so simply that even a child could understand them; therefore he did not care for the artificial terms of the masters, which rather obscure

"*Wie ist doch der Herr so gütig und getreu unser Hertz erfreut, und hilft aus der grösten noth, zeigt*



*in unserm Leid? sehr gedultig und sanfftmüthig, eh er sich als ein treuer Gott: darum will ich ihn von Hertzen loben in den grösten Schm.*"



REDUCED TO MODERN NOTATION.

than enlighten the art. Accordingly, whenever he took a hymn in hand, in order to compose a tune to it, he was careful to represent the spirit of the hymn by the tune; then after he had composed a choral-song, he fixed the metre, not according to custom, but as the nature of the thing required it. He, however,

soon found out that some of the melodies were very strained, and that notes occurred which did not belong there. Thus he discovered the key, for every key has its own peculiarity, and adopts only such notes as are natural to it, and this is the reason why the melodies of Lobwasser have a strained sound, because the key to them was not understood, and notes were thus used which were not suitable. In order that he might not make mistakes in composing, he had for each key certain dominant notes, commonly four to the octave, which he called rulers, but the three other notes, servants. Thus in the *f* tunes, *f*, *a*, *c*, *f*, are the rulers, but *g*, *b*, *d* the servants, and, although it sounds ill if a servant is made ruler, the composer, nevertheless, must know when it is proper to swerve into another key. This gives a very charming variation to the song, provided it




Fac-simile of Elementary Score of Four Part Key of C.

resolves itself again into the original key before the end. The Superintendent was a master in this, but his scholars suspected that he had done it in order to find a cause for fault-finding with them ; for as soon as they changed to another key their voices fell into disorder.

" When he attempted to compose the bass and middle-voices he encountered new difficulties, for you must know that vocal music, as well as *mathesis*, have their unalterable first principles which angels even observe in their song. These he did not know, neither was he able, like masters in music, to find the concordance by means of instruments ; at last he invented certain schedules, a special one for each key, in which he laid down the proportion between the soprano and the other voices, whereby composition was greatly facilitated. For instance, in the key of *f*, the *f* in the soprano corresponds to *a* in the tenor, and *c* in the alto ; the bass, however, has the octave of the middle voices. All his tunes have two basses ; but he also composed some for six voices, and even for seven, namely, two soprano, one alto, two tenor, and two basses for that purpose, however, he after all had to use two octaves. His last work, by many masters declared the most important, were the choral-songs. They were brought to light, partly printed, partly written, Anno 1754, under the title : *Paradisisches | Wunder-Spiel, | Welches sich | In diesen letzten Zeiten und Tagen | In denen Abend-Ländischen Welt-Theilen als ein Vor- | spiel der neuen Welt hervor gethan. Bestehende | In einer gantz neuen und gemeinen Sing- | Art auf Weise der Englischen und himm- | lischen Chören eingerichtet. | Da dann des Lied Mosis und des Lamms, wie auch das hohe Lied Salomos | nis samt noch andern Zeugnüssen aus der Bibel und andern Heiligen | in liebliche Melodyen gebracht. Wobey nicht weniger der Zuruf der | Braut des Lamms, sammt der Zubereitung auf den herzlichen | Hochzeit-Tag trefflich Præfigurirt wird. | Alles nach Englischen Chören Gesangs-Weise mit viel Mühe und grosem Fleiss | ausgefertiget von einem | Friedsamen,*[84] *| Der sonst in dieser Welt weder Namen noch Titul suchet.*"

[84] The Superintendent's "church name" was Friedsam."

[Translation.—Paradisiacal Wonder Music, which in these latter times and days became prominent in the occidental parts of the world as a prevision of the New World, consisting of an entirely new and uncommon manner of singing, arranged

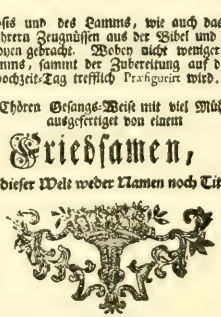
Paradiſſiſches
Wunder-Spiel,
Welches ſich
In dieſen letzten Zeiten und Tagen
In denen Abend-Ländiſchen Welt-Theilen als ein Vor-
ſpiel der neuen Welt hervor gethan. Beſtehende
In einer gantz neuen und ungemeinen Sing-
Art auf Weiſe der Engliſchen und himm-
liſchen Chören eingerichtet.

Da dann das Lied Moſis und des Lamms, wie auch das hohe Lied Salomonis ſamt noch mehrern Zeugnüſſen aus der Bibel und andern Heiligen in liebliche Melodyen gebracht. Wobey nicht weniger der Zuruf der Braut des Lamms, ſammt der Zubereitung auf den herrlichen Hochzeit-Tag trefflich Præſigurirt wird.

Alles nach Engliſchen Chören Geſangs-Weiſe mit viel Mühe und groſſem Fleiß ausgefertiget von einem

Friedſamen,

Der ſonſt in dieſer Welt weder Namen noch Titul ſuchet.



EPHRATÆ Sumptibus Societatis: 1754.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE. (ORIGINAL 12¾ x 8 INCHES.)

in accord with the angelic and heavenly choirs. Herein the song of Moses and the Lamb, also the Song of Solomon, and

other witnesses out of the Bible and from other saints, are brought into sweet harmony. Everything arranged with much labor and great trouble, after the manner of singing of the angelic choir, by a Peaceful one, who desires no other name or title in this world.]

In his preface to the *Turtel Taube*, Beissel further states:

"This gave us the incentive to serve God also publicly in the most refined manner, as we knew that He found no joy in the bawling of goats nor in the screech of wild beasts, but rather in the praise of his saints; and as we soon noticed that the spirit of the song needs to be served in cleanliness, it gave us a greater incentive to embark in it and banished the thought that anything was to be lost in the matter, as we learned by experience. As soon as we engaged in the matter we at once found that there was not alone no cause for levity and sport, but we forthwith were burdened with such a bitter and doleful passion that our whole humanity was crucified thereto.

"And as we were not willing to escape from this passion, but stood firm and kept to the work, so it came to pass that our whole humanity (*Menschheit*) even after the same degree of sorrow was brought to a certain pacemaking (*geschlacht machung*) and tenderness (*dinnheit*) whereby naturally the cleanest and purest spirit of divine wisdom (as it is the master of this high and divine art) found an open door, and sealed unto us, according to each and every grade, the sufferage of this angelic art of singing which eventually has spread so far and wide that neither bounds nor end were to be found therein.

"Upon this account we were constrained not to keep alone for ourselves this high and precious gift, but to favor other lovers of the divine and celestial comedy with it, and publish it as it is given, and was compiled with great patience and forbearance.

"And although we be ridiculed and censured by masters and artists of mundane and lower wisdom—as we are still in this the lower world with our precious gift, and fail to assert ourselves according to our precious gift—all of which does not impair the value of our precious treasure, but tends to preserve us together with the same, so that no foreign influence can enter into our thoughts."

WE[86] will now make a beginning and advance to our subject, and, as far as possible, will relate in a concise manner by what means and opportunity we are to adapt ourselves, both spiritually and bodily, to gain this art of high degree. We will then go further, as the circumstances of the case may require. First of all, it must be noted that the divine virtue must be observed [*beäuget*] upon the pinnacle of perfection, and occupy the foremost point if one expects, according to the proper manner, to become a scholar and subsequent master of this exalted and divine art.

"Further, it is required of both scholar and master to know, how in addition to all other circumstances, it is requisite that one seeks upon every occasion to make himself agreeable and acceptable to the Spirit of this high and divine virtue. As he, according to our experience and knowledge, has within himself the purest and cleanest spirit of the everlasting celestial virginity.

"This naturally requires a compliance with the demands of an angelic and heavenly life. In the meantime the wants of the body are also to be restrained, and attention given so that the voice become angelic, heavenly, pure and clear, and not become strong and harsh, by a coarseness of the food, and consequently prove valueless. But to gain the right tone, so that no unseemingly harsh screeching and croaking be heard in place of the proper melody.

"At the same time it is absolutely necessary to know what sorts of food quicken the spirit and make the voice subtile and thin, and to the contrary make the subject coarse, sluggish, lazy and heavy. Even as it is certain that all meat dishes, no matter under what name, merely make it incommodious without any compensation for the Pilgrim seeking the Silent Eternity.

[86] Conrad Beissel.

"In the meantime we now come to the food which we, with great injustice, take from the animals.

"*Milk* causes heaviness and uneasiness.

"*Cheese* makes one fiery and hot brained, and causes a longing after forbidden things.

"*Butter* makes one lazy and stolid, and at the same time satiates so much that one desires neither to sing nor to pray.

"*Eggs* awaken various and extraordinary desires.

"*Honey* causes light eyes and a cheerful spirit, but no clear voice. Of bread and cooked dishes this is to remark: That for quickening the spirit and natural cheerfulness, nothing is better than wheat and then buckwheat, which although externally different, has the same virtues in its uses, no matter whether used in bread or cooked dishes.

"What concerns the other simple tuberous vegetables, nothing is more useful than the plain potato, beet and similar roots. Beans carry a weight with them and satiate too much, and create an unclean desire. At the same time, above all things it is to be remembered, that the spirit of this royal art, as it is a clean, pure and virgin spirit, suffers no unclean, polluted, or sinful love for woman, which in young hearts inflames the carnal spirit and agitates it to such a degree as to make them entirely unfit and useless in mind, heart, voice and spirit. In the more mature, it awakens a spirit of desire after the dark attributes of the world, and consequently closes in heart, mind and voice the haven of this pure spirit.

"What concerns the drink, it has long since been settled that in the straight path, there is naught that hath greater righteousness than the innocent, clear water, just as it comes from the well, or is made into a soup to which a little bread is added. Otherwise, all cookery, whereby the water has been deprived of its beneficent nature and changed by unseeming art into a sort of delicacy, is to be considered as sinful, vain and an abuse. The same refers to other dishes

which we do not think it worth while to enumerate, and which by many and various methods are deprived of their harmless nature and are changed into delicacies.

"Upon the other part we have nought to do with any unmannerly paunch stuffing, as our thought concerns only such as in all matters lawfully and regularly have entered into this spiritual struggle. Consequently we have no concern with any disorderly or uncontrollable person.

"Then again, we are not taught to seek the power for divine virtue merely by a selection of this or that kind of food, as we are at liberty to make our own selection, and it might be that we would desire to be relieved entirely from such selection, and thus be able to lead an Enochian, supernatural and supersensual life.

"Then the celestial wondrous song would resolve itself with the aid of such things as depart with time and cannot lead to eternity.

"Aside from all this, and not to dwell too long upon this matter, but to proceed, so as to reach our goal, we will first mention, that should we venture to impart as complete as possible the whole matter as it actually appears, we would be unable to achieve our aim and object. However, we will spare no pains to expound this matter, but be it borne in mind, that we still leave something for the educated and practical [musician] to solve.

"We will now proceed as briefly as possible:

[Great difficulties presented themselves in our attempt to render into English the following dissertation on music by the Magus on the Cocalico; and while it is evident that he knew but little of music, we have preferred a literal translation even where the meaning of the writer is obscure.]

"It is most necessary and useful to have an instructor at the very beginning for the new scholars, so that they do not merely superficially learn the A, B, C, or to study the seven letters [notes], and then immediately advance them

to the thirds [*Tertzen*], and fourths and sevenths [*Sprüngen*] before they learn to know each letter's [note's] kind and quality, nor do not know even what has been taught them. So, especial diligence must be used, that the quality and tone of every letter be thoroughly developed. This requires so constant an application that it is not to be described here, for it would take entirely too much labor for one to learn the true tone by himself.

"Then again, the voices come out either too harsh and unbroken or else the notes are perverse and false, without reaching the requisite height. In such cases, we must relax our efforts until one notices and sees how far they, according to their own notions, can carry it out. If any appear to be totally incapable, better give them up for a time so that one does not lose one's temper entirely. However, when one has solved the kind and quality of every letter, then all diligence must henceforth be used so as to teach the pupil how to train the voice and what each note's special value may be, and advise them to learn to comprehend therewith, when further progress shall be made, that they know how to avoid errors and mistakes.

"Naturally in this place all can be obtained requisite for this study. Much can also be overlooked, so much so, that it cannot be regained by years of study. So much for this. Now we will proceed no further upon this point, but will disclose the direct way, as to what composes a four part tune, and how each and every method, according to its kind of letters, in each and every voice fits into a choral, and also show the key of each made in four voices, as upon a slate, further when the tune flattens, how it is to be again raised, sharpened so that it is not thrown out of its particular art and manner.

"Be it remembered that not more than three letters [notes] can be used to form the four voices, consequently the fourth voice is always formed by the octave, which




ILLUSTRATION OF SIX PART CHORAL.—FROM MSS. TUNE-BOOK.

three notes always appear at the very beginning of every melody. These give us the fourth voice. Therefore, it is to be remembered that these three notes which appear in the beginning are the masters and lords; whereupon, everything depends from beginning to end, as the tune must invariably end with the same dominants wherewith it commences.

"If the choral is in the key of C it follows that the *c* gives the key to the *baritone*, and the *g* is his third. So that the upper tenor and the lower choral *g* begins the bass; although it may happen that they be transposed, namely, when the choral does not just begin with the C, though they remain together, begin the choral and also end it.

"What concerns the four remaining notes, *f*, *a*, *b*, *d*, which we shall designate as menials, we will tell how each shall be noted with his fellow menials so they harmonize.

"Although at the end we will see everything plainly noted on tablets, yet we will take the additional trouble to explain each of the notes and his two fellow menials.

"If the *f* occurs in a choral, he is served in *barrir* and *bass* by the *d* and *a* in *tenor*. The *a* carries in barrir and bass *d* and in the tenor *a*, and at times also in bass. The *b* makes the barrir *d* and in tenor and bass *g*. The *d* makes in barrir *b* and in tenor and bass *g*. In this manner a melody in the key of C can be properly arranged in four voices [parts].

"Now we will note how a tune, when fallen, may be properly raised again, without putting the tune out of order. Be it known, that it may always be done by the note which guides the tune as with a rudder. Therefore, it must here be sought in the *c* as I will get in a different manner another *c* and say *c*, *d*, *d sharp*. As soon as we have the proper pitch of *d sharp*, we will return and call it *c* and continue the tune, the proof is correct.

"We will now proceed from the method of C to A. As before, there come first three lords (dominants) with which the four parts begin and end. Then we have the remaining four menials, which gather together and each does his duty. As now the *a* is the dominant lord (keynote) of the choral, so follows him in the barrir the *c*. This is now the four part scheme in the key of A. The four remaining menials, *f*, *g*, *b*, *d*, do duty in the interim. As the *f* in barrir and *b* in tenor give the *d* in bass, the *g* in barrir and *e* in bass give the tenor *c*. The *d* gives in barrir *b*, and in tenor and bass *g*. If the tune has fallen we must take the *c* we have and call it *a* and ascend so that I can get another *c*, and as soon as I have this, I go back again and make my *a* sound right loud, and continue my tune with the *a*. Thus we have the fundamental instruction for arranging the key of A into four parts, and how to raise the melody when it has fallen.

"Now we will pass from the key of A to the key of B and describe its kind and manner. Here we have *b*, *d*, *f* dominant as lords and masters. The *b* governs the choral, the *d* the barrir, and *f* the tenor and bass, although naturally in the bass *b* remains supreme and master. The four servants and menials are *g*, *a*, *c*, *d sharp* [*Eb*], of which, in the choral, *g* associates itself with the barrir and *c* to the bass (although the upper *g* naturally makes the *Eb*), while the tenor unavoidable takes *e flat*. The *a* makes the *c* barrir, tenor and bass *f*, while the *c* makes the *a* barrir and tenor and bass *f*. The *Eb* makes barrir and bass *c* and tenor *g*.

"If the tune has fallen, then I call my *b*, *g* and advance according to order, make another *b* and continue the tune.

"As now in this key *b* is dominant and master, and the *f* and *b* are in opposition to him, we will now examine a key where *g* is dominant and *b* and *d* are subjective to him. Here the scheme turns itself around wonderously, and we

have in the three side parts entirely different notes than what serve in the other keys.

"We will now commence with the three masters. In this key we now begin the voices with *g*, *b*, *d*. Here it is to remark that these three notes invariably remain together and are inseparable, and the tune always commences in four parts; as above noted, the octave forms the fourth voice, so it makes no difference which of these three notes commence the choral.

"That we always commence our description with the note which leads the choral is done for uniformity's sake. That is the reason why in our account we present the scheme as if all keys begin with the same letter, which supplies the upper part in the choral, which, however, cannot be. Consequently, we will present our method always according to the master and dominant (*Herrschafft*) of the choral.

"This is now our method, which happens in the key of G, which makes the *b*. The *g* in the choral makes the barrir *b*, and tenor and bass *d*. This then is the key, and they remain together throughout the whole tune, only that the barrir, when the *g* holds out in the choral, always accords with the *h* in place of the *b*, which also happens in the A'' method. Thus, that were in the choral the *a* holds, so holds the barrir *c sharp*, and in this manner the four remaining notes, *f*, *a*, *c*, *d sharp*, the menials *f* makes in barrir and bass *b*, in tenor *d*; *a* makes in tenor and bass *d* and in barrir *f sharp*; *c* makes in barrir *a* and in tenor and bass *f*; *d sharp* makes in barrir, *g* in tenor and bass *e*. To raise the tune when fallen, we can refer back to the B method; it is the same.

"We now come to the G'' method, which comprises *b* and *f sharp*, so that *g*, *b*, *d* together intone and agree and make the four parts. The four remaining notes, *f sharp*, *a*, *c*, *e*, call for following order—*f sharp* makes barrir *b* and sometimes also the bass, the tenor and bass *d*. The *a* makes

barrir and bass *d* and tenor *f sharp*. The *c* makes the upper *e* barrir, tenor and bass *a*. The *e* makes barrir and bass *c* and tenor *a*. How to raise when the tune has fallen, such can be done by the B method.

"Now we have only the F″ method remaining, where in *f*, *a*, *c*, form the key to the four parts. The remaining four menials, as *g*, *b*, *d*, *e*, have following order: *g* makes the barrir and *c* the bass and *e* the tenor. The *b* makes *d* barrir and tenor, and bass *g*. The *d* makes the barrir and bass *b* and tenor *g*. The *e* makes barrir and bass *c* and tenor *a*, sometimes *g*. When the tune has fallen we proceed as before stated, namely—we make another *f*, which is then worked through *f*, *g*, *a sharp* as I take my *f* and ascend, and when I have the *a sharp* I call it *f* and continue my song. The proof is correct.

"We have now imparted, according to our ability, the secret of our spiritual singing work. Although in the present instance we have more concern with hymns than melodies, and the learned one might ask why we here devote ourselves to notation, which does not appear in the present work. We could not refrain leaving this account precede this work (*The Turtle Taube*); partly, as the hymns here published, thereby get their adornment and grace. Secondly, as perhaps a lover of this noble and Paradisical art will be encouraged to seek further into the mystery."

Thus ends Beissel's remarkable dissertation on harmony, which was the basis of the Ephrata music. It has been translated in full with the same hope as expressed in the above closing paragraph.




JACOB BEHMEN,
The TEUTONIC THEOSOPHER, Born at OLD SEIDENBURG, 1575. Died at GORLITZ, 1624.
"Hark! What that Angel sounds, whom Jesus chose;
In Time most fit his Mysteries to disclose.
Set Wisdom's Light, Humility adorn,
Of good the Love, of evil Men the Scorn."



## CHAPTER VII.

### THE MYSTIC ON THE COCALICO.



None of the problems which have confronted the student of the Sectarian movement in Pennsylvania is more interesting nor has called forth more diverse opinions than the question: Whence did Conrad Beissel obtain his mystical lore? One class of writers, of whom the late Dr. William M. Fahnestock, of Bordentown, N. J. (1802–54), is the best example, imply that it was the result of direct inspiration by the Divine Spirit. Others again have held that the chief component parts of the Ephrata theosophy were to be found in the writings of Jacob Boehme.

Among the many students who have written upon the subject, and held to the Boehme theory, no name is more familiar in German literary circles than that of the late Dr. Oswald Seidensticker. His investigations into the theosophy, literature and influence, and his scholarly con-

tributions to various German periodicals, inaccessible though they are to English readers, are all well known, and rank among the earliest and most important publications that called renewed attention to the peculiar settlement on the Cocalico.[87]

The learned doctor, however, is forced to admit that "the theosophy of Jacob Boehme by its transplantation to the Cocalico lost much of its original depth and meaning. It was pruned and weakened so as to suit the requirements of the cloister, whose chief aim it was to use it as the foundation for the ascetic life, in a manner similar to that of Gichtel, who was the most earnest follower of Boehme, and the founder of the order of the Angelic Fraternity" (*Engelsbrüder.*)[88]



Dr. William M. Fahnestock
From a sketch while preaching in the Saal.

Fortunately in the interest of historical truth we are now enabled to present a solution of the disputed problem and furnish a definite answer to the question: Whence did Conrad Beissel obtain his mystical lore? In the course of the extended investigations of the present writer and his systematic search after original Ephrata material, a number of ancient books and papers of the old Zionitic Brotherhood were unearthed from their hiding place where they had rested undisturbed for almost a century, documents which

[87] Unfortunately but a single paper of Dr. Seidensticker's upon our subject, "A Colonial Monastery," appeared in the English language.

[88] For full account of the *Engelsbrüder* see *Baumgarten*, p. 1082.

proved to be some sent from Ephrata to Antietam during the eighteenth century, so that the fires of mystic theology in that new settlement in the wilderness would be kept alive with the same flame as that burning upon the altars of the mother-house on the Cocalico. These documents form an interesting setting to our story of the Ephrata Community, as they not only throw additional light upon the dogmas promulgated by Beissel, but actually give us the true foundation of the whole structure of the Ephrata mysticism.

It appears from these papers that the the theosophy of Conrad Beissel really hung upon a slender thread, as it was built chiefly upon a few of the earlier writings of Gottfried Arnold,[89] an heretofore entirely unknown factor in the Ephrata religious development, combined with the aphorism of the Ego and Non-Ego, to which he was introduced in the Rosicrucian chapter at Heidelberg.[90] Here we have now the key to the groundwork of Beissel's mysticism, and a ready answer to the oft-asked question, how it happened that a man of such meagre elementary education as the Magus on the Cocalico was able to propound such erudite speculations as are accredited to him in the many issues of the Society.

[89] Gottfried Arnold, born September 5, 1666, at Anaberg; theologian and historian. In his early career a mystic; was a friend and associate of Gichtel, Peterson and other separatists. Arnold sought to attain true Christianity by breaking through the bonds of the flesh and the world, and by a complete renunciation of self and an absorption into God. It is from this period (1696–1700) that his mystical writings were issued. It was charged that he sanctioned the heresies, and the attempt was even made to impugn heresy to him. Yet in all his printed sermons the true and unaltered Lutheran doctrine prevails. As his mystical publications multiplied he was eventually forced to leave Quedlinburg. In the year 1700 he, however, renounced his espousal of the celestial Sophia for a more material union with the daughter of the *Hofdiacon*, at Quedlinburg, Anna Maria Sprogel, from which time he again was in full accord with the Lutheran Church.

[90] Cf. Volume I, Chapter 4.

From this newly-found material it appears that Arnold's *Betrachtungs-würdige Anmerkungen von der Natur und Beschaffenheit des ehelichen und unverehlichen Lebens* ("Observations worthy of consideration upon the nature and character of the Married and Unmarried Life"), was the chief text-book and basis for Beissel's speculations. To this should be added Arnold's *Geheimniss der Göttlichen Weisheit.*

A comparison of the above works of Arnold's with Beissel's greatest thesis, known as *Die Wunderschrifft*[91] (Dissertation on Man's Fall)[92] will at once show the similarity.

In both of these books man is presented in his primal form as a spiritual power, containing the male and female elements. This spiritual principle constituted humanity before it became differentiated in matter until at the fall of Adam the spiritual Sophia departed from him. Then woman was formed out of a rib taken from his side, whereby he lost the female attribute and retained merely the male.

In order to bring mankind back to its state of original perfection the Messiah humbled himself to be born of the Virgin, thus to introduce the male principle into the body of a virgin, whereby Christ became a new regenerate man and stood as a male virgin perfect before God.

The object of Redemption, upon the part of the Brethren, was to be united with the celestial Sophia, or the divine female principle, which excluded human love in the attainment of the divine love. Upon the part of the sisterhood the object was to be again united with the divine essence in the form of the heavenly bridegroom. It is this strain that runs all through the Ephrata theosophy and upon which their speculations and life were based, tempered though they were to a slight degree with the speculations

[91] The only known copy of the German version is in the library of the writer.

[92] Cf. Volume I, p. 421, *et seq.* *Fac-simile* of title-page is also given.

of Boehme and other mystics who were gradually introduced by such scholars as Hildebrand, Wohlfarth, Peter Miller, Höcker, Jacob and George Adam Martin, and a few others. To these must be added the sound theological knowledge Beissel gained by listening to sermons by Profs. Meig and Kirchmeier at Heidelberg and the Separatist theories learned by his intercourse with Junkerott, Rock and Dr. Carl, publisher of the *Geistliche Fama*[93] prior to his coming to America.

How this sophistry was combined with the New Testament teachings of the English Sabbatarians and the ceremonies of the Germantown Dunkers has already been fully shown.

Beissel, in his attitude toward the Bible, accepted it as the infallible Word of God and acknowledged it as the source of all supersensual truths, and all his epistles are richly amplified with quotations from both the Old and New Testaments.

Dr. Seidensticker, in his speculations upon the theosophy of Conrad Beissel, states:[94]

"Our Christian theosophist on the Cocalico scarcely was aware that in these speculations he followed in the wake of the Sânkya philosophy, which has its home in Hindustan, and that the same extinction of the Ego had long since been required by Sakyâmuni, the founder of Buddhism,[95] and that it was the necessary starting point toward an ecstatic union with God. 'The Buddhistic view,' says C. F. Koep-

[93] Cf. Volume I, Chapter IV.

[94] *Ephrata; eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte*, Cincinnati, 1883.

[95] Seidensticker is wrong in associating Buddhist asceticism with the idea of a union with God. Buddha categorically denied the existence of a personal Creator with whom we could be united. (Dîgha Nikâyo, Sutta No. 1). But he did predicate an unknown sea of being wherein we could be merged. (Udâna VIII. 3, and Itivuttaka 43). However, he admitted the possibility of fellowship with the Supreme Finite God, but intimated that it was a lower goal (Dîgha 13).—A. J. E.

pen, 'is like the Brahmanical one in its foundation, mainly abstraction, renunciation of the world of appearances and delusion, cleansing the heart from desires, abjuration of all determination of the will, imagination and thought, which eventually leads up to the perfect void and apathy to non-wishing, non-experience, non-thought.' In this condition, known as Dhyâna, the penitent in this life already enjoys a foretaste of Nirvâna, the blissful nothing. Similar conditions are found to exist among the Neo-Platonists like Plotinus, who speaks about the engrossment of the soul in the "One," about the tremor of intoxication, about extinction of the individual thought and sense. Even the mystics of the Mohammedans, the Sufis, believed in renunciation of the world and absorption of self, for union with the Godhead, and in such manner they receive an insight into the true nature of matter. It will thus be seen that Brother Friedsam (Gottrecht) unknowingly traveled on a well-frequented path."

A manuscript copy of the "Observations of Arnold" was given to the leaders of the different revivals and new settlements, or offshoots of the parent stem at Ephrata, as embodying the fundamental spiritual rule for their government. It is not known that they were ever printed in this country. They were, however, duplicated at intervals in writing in the different communities. Thus the last copy of which we have any knowledge was engrossed at Snowhill, on the Antietam, as late as 1840–50, by Obed Snowberger, of which the first page is here reproduced in facsimile.

The later years of the Community were marked by the advent of new members who were imbued with the mystical speculations then rife in the Fatherland, and we find the occasional introduction of other mystical writings, notable among which was Christoph Schütz' *Ermahnung für solche, die ihre Hände nach dem Baum des Wissens ausgestreckt*




GOTTFRIED ARNOLD.

(1666-1714.)

*haben*—"Admonition to such as have stretched their hands toward the Tree of Knowledge."[96]

Toward the close of Beissel's earthly career evidences ap-

Betrachtungs-würdige Anmerckungen,
Von der Natur und Beschaffenheit des ehelichen und
unverehlichten Lebens.
heraus gegeben,
von
Gottfried Arnold

1. Der Mensch ist zum Bilde Gottes erschaffen.
2. Gott ist ein verzehrend Feuer. Jedem Gott ist ein Licht und wohnet in einem Licht, dazu niemand kommen kan. Nach jener Eigenschaft heisset er ein feuriger eiferiger Gott. Nach dieser aber heisset er barmhertzig, gnädig, und von grosser Güte; oder wie Johannes sagt, die Liebe.
3. Nach beyderley Eigenschaften (wie selbige in Gott ohne Schiedlichkeit und Streit in der Temperatur und süssen Einigkeit betrachtet werden) solte der Mensch Gottes Bild seyn: gleich wie es dann auch unter andern hierinn an ihm würcklich sich erzeigte, als er in Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit beydes nach männlicher und weiblicher Eigenschaft von Gott erschaffen ward.
4. Das männliche ist Feuer und Zorn: das weibliche ist Licht und Liebe.
5. Gleichwie aber beyderley Eigenschaften in Gott als in einer Substanz und Wesen vereinbahret und unzertheilet sind: Also solten sie auch im Menschen als in einer Substanz und Wesen vereinbahret und unzertheilet seyn und bleiben.
6. Daher bezeuget die Heilige Schrifft ausdrücklich, daß der

FIRST PAGE OF ARNOLD'S OBSERVATIONS.

pear of the speculations of Thomas Bromley, of which the younger Sauer published an American reprint in 1759.

[96] Manuscript in the library of the writer.

This work was partly translated into the German at Ephrata, and Bromley's "Law of Circumcision (*Gesetz der Beschneidung*, pp. 12–38) became a part of the Kloster theosophy.[97]

So far as known to the writer no German version of this work was ever published.

A careful examination of the works of Beissel, both prose and verse, will show the correctness of our deductions, as here presented, and that the whole structure was based upon Gottfried Arnold, combined with the true Rosicrucian theosophy, of which the hypothesis of the Ego and Non-Ego forms an important feature. The speculations and ritual of the Zionitic Brotherhood are not to be confounded with the theosophy of Beissel and the Community. The chief object of the Brotherhood was the attainment of physical and spiritual regeneration; that of Conrad Beissel was a conversion or betterment of the Community at large.

The WAY to the
SABBATH OF REST.
OR THE
*Soul's Progress in the Work*
OF THE
NEW-BIRTH.
WITH
Two Discourses of the Author never before Printed *viz.*
The Journeys of the Children of *Israel*, as in their Names and historical Passages, they comprise the great and gradual Work of Regeneration:
AND
A Treatise of extraordinary divine Dispensations, under the *Jewish* and Gospel Administrations.

By Mr. THOMAS BROMLEY.

To which are added
A Discourse on Mistakes concerning Religion, Enthusiasm, Experiences &c. By *Thomas Hartley* Rector of *Winwick*

*LONDON Printed.*
GERMANTOWN Reprinted and sold by *Christopher Sower*, Also sold by *Solomon Fussell* and *Jonathan Zane* in *Philadelphia*. 1759.

AMERICAN REPRINT OF BROMLEY'S WORKS.

An occasional glimpse and insight into the tenets and religious ceremonies of the secular branch of the Ephrata Congregation is given us by Provost Israel Acrelius, as gleaned and witnessed by him during his visit to Ephrata in 1753, and his conversations with Prior Jaebez. Here we have two learned theologians arguing from opposite

[97] Manuscript translation in the library of the writer.

points of view, without any bitterness of feeling so often manifest in religious discussions. Only such portions as relate to the doctrine are here given; the descriptive portion forms a separate chapter of this work.

Provost Acrelius states that on the seventh of September, 1753, he went to visit the Ephrata settlement in company with Mr. George Ross, a young and rising member of the Lancaster County bar. They were received and treated as old friends, and Acrelius was given every opportunity for gaining an insight into the peculiar cloister life on the Cocalico.

In their talk about doctrinal matters, one of the first topics touched upon was the time for keeping the Lord's Supper, which here was always done in the evening. Prior Jaebez in reply to the Provost's question answered:

"A supper cannot be held at mid-day; its time is in the evening.

"It is our duty as Christians to regard the primitive state of the church, and not to make changes therein at our own caprice.

"We can prove ourselves to have both the spirit and the state of the primitive church. We keep our vows of chastity, we have all things in common among us, we observe the washing of the feet and other things.

"It is enough to retain those [ceremonies] which contain in them something that is symbolical, and which exhibit the value of the Lord's Supper.

"The brethren live in the simplicity of their faith, and do not place a high value upon disputations. You must consider that we have lived here more than twenty years, and we must have learned something from our immediate intercourse with God during that time."

"From that hour," continues Acrelius, "I determined not to go any further into controversy than he [Jaebez] himself occasioned and took pleasure in, so that I might not make myself a disagreeable guest."

As to the external pains of hell, Jaebez said:

"I do not believe that the soul, which is a part of God's being, can perish eternally. As long as you are evil and I good, we shall never agree; but if we are both good, then we shall well agree. When thirty-nine thousand years have passed, and the great Jubilee comes, then the Devil shall be chained."

Referring to the absence of general church prayers in their worship, Jaebez said:

"The heart is not always open for prayer; to pray with a closed heart is only hypocrisy.

"Prayer is a gift of the Spirit. Those whose hearts are not open have not received that gift and cannot pray.

"He who has a desire to pray has also liberty to do so among us, only he must report it to Father Friedsam, as he keeps order in our congregation, and we cannot do less than pay him this respect, as he is the founder of the Brotherhood."

As to the peculiar mode of administering the ordinance of holy baptism, Jaebez said:

"We seldom receive any others than such as have been already baptized, and who thus have some knowledge of Christianity; but if they have been brought up in our Society, we first instruct them. When they come to the water, the minister puts to them the necessary questions, which are to be answered. Then the person falls down upon his knees in the water and places both his opened hands before his mouth, with the ends of his fingers turned towards his nose, so as to keep his nostrils closed, and the same with his mouth. The minister then lays his right hand crosswise over the other's hands and presses them closely together, holding his left hand behind his neck, and thus plunges the person under the water. When the person who is to be baptized makes resistance during the performance of the rite, force and strength are employed for its completion. Without dipping them under the water there can be no baptism: the person must be submerged. When Christ sent out His Apostles, he commanded them to baptize, which word cannot receive its significance in a small cup of water."

It is to be observed that, according to their received opinion, the cross of affliction is the surest token of a genuine Christianity, whether it come through God's providence, or the faithful take it upon themselves of their own accord. Acrelius said that, according to this, all incurable sickness is Christian, or more correctly, with some it is preparatory, and with others a means of strengthening them in Christianity. But no suffering, whether internal or external, can of itself make us Christians, or be regarded as the surest token of Christianity, for Pharoah's magicians had boils as well as Job. Jaebez answered:

"We make a difference between God's punishments and God's corrections, but the Christian without the cross is no Christian."

As to the keeping of the seventh day, Acrelius asked Prior Jaebez why they who professed to be Christians should so regulate themselves by the Jewish law, and separate themselves from all others who confess the Christian name. Jaebez answered: "That is no Jewish law, but a perpetual natural law [*lex naturalis perpetua*, in the original] which is written upon the hearts of all men, and is of the same force as all the other nine of the ten Divine Commandments, none of which can be changed but stand to all eternity."

Acrelius states in conclusion:

"They hold with the Quakers, inasmuch as they are a sort of enthusiasts. They do indeed read the Scriptures, but believe themselves to be possessed of an Inward Light which transcends the outward. They therefore despise all outward instruction; give out that their sermons come from the immediate light and impulse of the Spirit at the same time as they speak; that each and every one has liberty to teach publicly in their congregations, when the order comes therefor; that we are to use 'thou' in conversation; to shake hands; exhibit absolute perfection in

our life, and to use no prayers, unless they come extempore into the head.

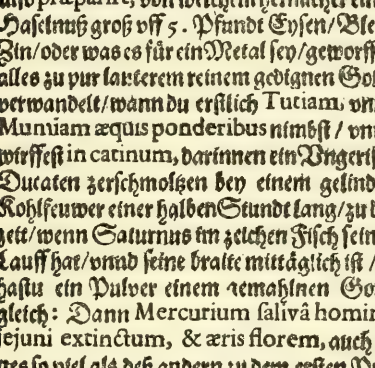
"They agree with the Anabaptists in that they take no one into their Society unless he have been baptized by them; they baptize those who come from other churches; baptize only those who have come to years of discretion; their baptism is performed with abundance of water by immersion. Other things have been already mentioned. They also hold services in their churches late at night.

"With the Papists also they have much in common, although they call themselves Protestants; they follow the same cloistered life, and have a cloister dress, and also rules for their meals; they seek their justification by a severe life, and perfection in a life of celibacy; they believe in a purgatory or purifying fire after death; on which account also Father Friedsam at certain times offers prayers for the dead. Many Roman Catholics from Germany have been received into their Society and live among them. The number of people in the cloister was much greater in former years. Now the brethren are not more in number than twenty-five (25), and the sisters thirty-five (35) or thirty-six (36). However earnestly they strive for a chaste life, the untimely intercourse of some of the brethren and sisters with each other has subjected the whole society to the unfavorable judgment of many. Father Friedsam himself is not free from such charges, which are made with great particularity. They cannot deny that some members have been licentious, but say they have been immediately discarded."

With the advent of Jacob Martin, the "High Philosopher," which happened about the year 1762, we have the introduction into the Kloster of Hermetic philosophy, together with alchemy and occult speculations of the Pseudo-Rosicrucians. Jacob Martin was what is known as an "adept," *i. e.*, one who was supposed to have solved the problem of transmutation of metals. That he was well versed in these chemical vagaries is fully shown by a number of his dissertations upon this subject, which are preserved in the Pennypacker

collection. Our adept on the Cocalico appears to have been a follower of Sentivog, and all of his speculations are based upon the writings of that philosopher, notably his *Dialogus Mercurii*, and the Rothscholz edition of Sendivog's *Epistolæ*.

[Michael Sendivogius (Michal Sensophax),—b. Cracow,



Dann der Lapis Philoſophicus wird alſo præparirt, von welchem hernacher einer Haſelnuß groß vff 5. Pfundt Eyſen/Bley/ Zin/oder was es für ein Metal ſey/geworffē/ alles zu pur lauterem reinem gedignen Golde verwandelt/wann du erſtlich Tutiam, vnnd Mumiam æquis ponderibus nimbſt/vnnd wirffeſt in catinum, darinnen ein Vngeriſch Ducaten zerſchmoltzen bey einem gelinden Kohlfeuwer einer halben Stundt lang/zu der zeit/wenn Saturnus im zeichen Fiſch ſeinen Lauff hat/vnnd ſeine bralte mittäglich iſt/ſo haſtu ein Pulver einem vermahlnen Golde gleich: Dann Mercurium ſalivâ hominis jejuni extinctum, & æris florem, auch eines ſo viel als deß andern zu dem erſten Pulver gethon/vnd widerumb zu einem Kohlfeuerlin in einem Tiegel/darinnen lebendiger Schwefel zergangen/geſetzt vñ vmbgerührt/ das es ſich wol durch einander vermenge/zur Zeit/wann Saturnus vnd Mars in Novilunio im erſten Hauß/vnd gevierdten ſchein deß

FORMULA FOR FINDING THE PHILOSOPHER'S STONE.

Original in library of the writer.

1566; d. Gravarna, 1646,—was a noted occult philosopher and alchymist. After the death of Alexander Sentonius Scotus, who is said to have solved the Hermetic secret,

Sendivog married his widow, and obtained from her a quantity of the red tincture with which he turned a lot of




MYSTICAL EMBLEM (PSEUDO ROSICRUSIAN) FOUND AMONG THE MSS. OF JOSEPH MARTIN.

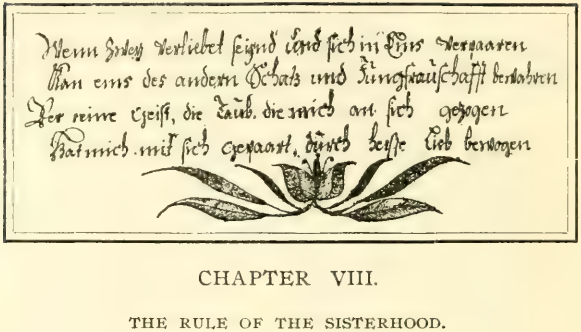
Original in Pennypacker Collection.

lead into gold valued at about 120,000 thalers. Personally he was never able to duplicate this mysterious substance.

Sendivog, however, always contended that the tincture which made his fortune was his own production. Sendivog was a prolific writer upon hermitic subjects, and was held in high esteem by devotees of hermetic art. A biographical sketch was published by Joh. Lange, Hamburg, 1683].

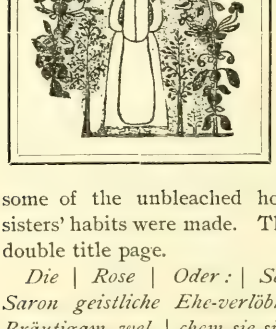
A laboratory was built somewhere in the vicinity of the Kloster, and serious attempts were made to discover the red tincture requisite to transmute baser metals into gold, but chiefly to find the *Lapis Philosophorum.* The scheme for the latter is now in the possession of the writer, the first page of the mystic formula is reproduced in fac-simile on page 173 as a curious illustration of hermetic philosophy.

It is not known what encouragement was given to these schemes and speculations by Beissel and Jaebez. No mention is made thereof in either *Chronicon* or *Diary.* The voluminous correspondence in the Pennypacker collection, however, fully shows that the attempt was a serious one, and that Jacob Martin was a firm believer in hermetic philosophy.




## CHAPTER VIII.

### THE RULE OF THE SISTERHOOD.



SOME years ago there was brought to the notice of the writer a curious manuscript volume. It was written in the peculiar *fractur schrift* of the Ephrata Kloster, and was bound in heavy card board such as was made in the paper mill of the Brotherhood. This, in turn, was covered with some of the unbleached homespun linen, of which the sisters' habits were made. The book opened with a curious double title page.

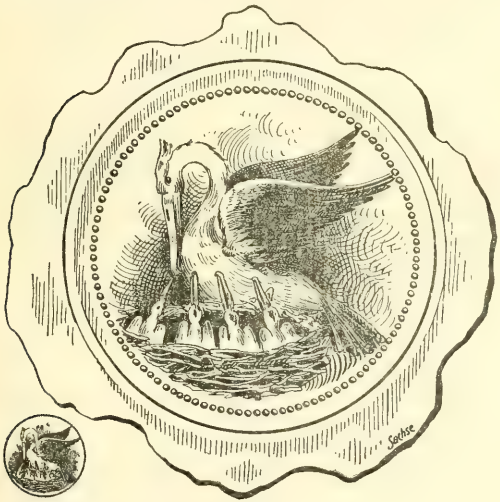
*Die | Rose | Oder: | Ser angenehmen Blume | zu Saron geistliche Ehe-verlöbnüs | mit ihrem himlischen Bräutigam, wel- | chem sie sich als ihrem König, Haupt- | Mann, Herrn, und Bräutigam, aufs ewig | hin Verlobt. |*

*Und noch dabey ihrer aller | bey-pflichtung im unter-*

HEADPIECE.—Copy of original MS. *Verlobungsschein*, or certificate of betrothal of the Spiritual Virgins. Original in collection of the writer.

*geben an | ihre geistliche Führerin, Mutter und Vorste- | herin und dann von ihrer treue and Pflicht un- | tereinander und gegen sich selbst. | Gegeben von ihrem geistlichen Vatter und Urständer, als durch welches Fleisz sich diese gantze geistliche gesellschafft er- | bauet, wie auch nicht weniger die wehrte | gesellschafft in Zion. | Ephrata den 13 des 5 Mon* [July] *1745.*

[Translation.—The Rose, or the acceptable flower for Saron's Spiritual betrothal with their celestial Bridegroom, whom they have espoused as their King, Ruler, Spouse, Lord and Bridegroom unto all Eternity.



ORIGINAL. ENLARGED.

SEAL OF THE SISTERHOOD OF SARON.

From a document sent by Prioress Maria to Conrad Weiser.

Added thereto is the full allegiance and obedience to their Spiritual Mother and *Vorsteherin*, and then of their fidelity and duty unto themselves and toward one another.

Given of their Spiritual father and founder, as it was by his diligence that this whole spiritual Society was erected, as was also the no less worthy society in Zion. Ephrata, May 13, 1745.]

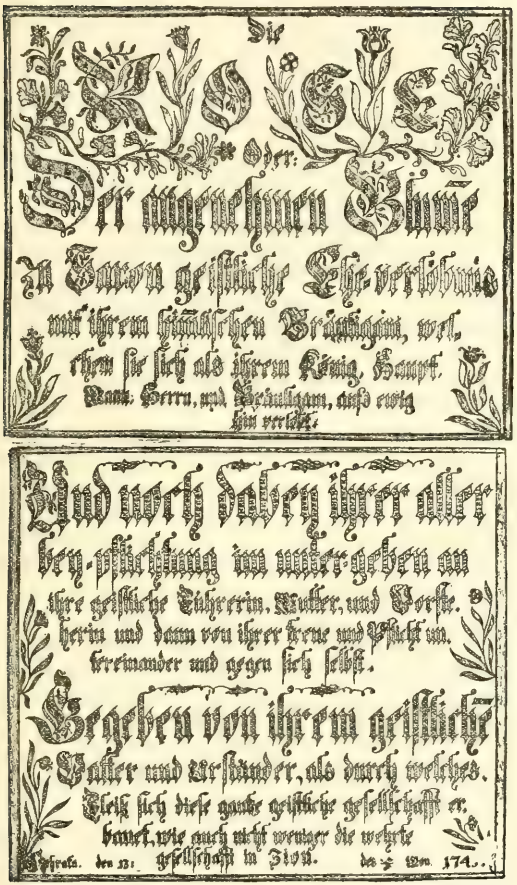
A fac-simile of the original pages are also shown upon the opposite page.

Upon examination this volume proved to be the rule or *Chronicon* of the Sisterhood, or, as they were then known, "The Spiritual Order of the Roses of Saron." Unfortunately the book was not complete. A number of pages were missing, containing the names of such as proved untrue to their covenant and the circumstances under which they returned to the world. The list giving the names they bore prior to assuming the cloister name was also wanting.

This book or record, it will be observed, was commenced while the Eckerlins were still the ruling power in the Community, and to Onesimus is undoubtedly due the credit for its inception and execution.

The contents of this curious manuscript, which was copied in its entirety by the writer, is divided into thirteen sections and professes to give:

1. The Commencement of the Movement.
2. A Complete Register of the Sisterhood.
3. An Account of the Rule of the Habit.
4. The Virginal Order of Discipline.
5. The Pledge of Everlasting Chastity.
6. Order of the Masses.
7. Rule of the Room Companies.
8. A Little Side Register, which Amplifies the First One.
9. Third and Last Register, which Treats of the Novitiate.
10. Little Echo of Sundry Sisters.
11. Epilogue or Blissful Testament which a Father has Spoken over his Children.
12. When Father Friedsam Departed.
13. Record of the Sisters who have Departed in the Lord.




TITLE-PAGES OF THE MANUSCRIPT CHRONICON OF THE EPHRATA SISTERHOOD.

The contents of the book were more or less disappointing, as they give us but little insight into their communal history. It does, however, afford us considerable information as to their daily life and discipline, the strict and ascetic rules under which they voluntarily submitted themselves. It must be remembered that there is no record of any set vow or obligation taken upon their reception to full membership. It was merely upon their solemn promise to obey and abide by the rules of discipline, which was given after living in the convent on probation for a year and a day.

When a maiden consecrated herself at the close of her novitiate a benediction (*Lobspruch or Segenswunsch*) was pronounced over her by the prior who officiated at the reception. A number of these prayers were recorded in the *Chronicon*, a single one of which will suffice as an illustration:

"*Schwester Jael*, be blessed and quickened at the fount of consolation. The Lord open up his Secret Treasures, and let you behold his wonders. Much good come unto you from the Lord, and may the opening of your mouth be acceptable unto God. In your lowliness God will be exalted, and your fall bring you to fresh honor. Whosoever loves you, will be honored, and whosoever holds you in esteem will be pardoned. Your seed must quicken, and for all time be recorded in the holy remembrance of God."

As an introduction to the *Chronicon* the writer states:

"Although it is not our intention to extoll this our worthy Society, here in Saron called the 'Rose,' we cannot abstain from noting something of their virtues, modesty, sobriety and frugality, and their rejection of all temporal things seemingly at variance with their Christian and churchly discipline."

Then follows a lengthy dissertation of several closely-written pages in the style and vein of the Ephrata Theosophical Epistles.

"It hath pleased the wisdom of our God, in this dim,

decaying and extremely dark period of the church, to raise a light in the midst of the darkness, which although many, who did not have clear eyes, had their sight still further dazzled, even so that in the bright noontide they stumbled, staggered and fell, whereby many efforts are made to confound this beautiful glory for a black darkness.

"While this beautiful light of the world shone so strong and sharp into the eyes, that their sight failed, and its false sheen fell to the ground, there arose beside the evil report, such anger that almost the whole work was made to tremble. But as the whole matter quickened itself, and was born of patience, forbearance and passion, all could fairly well content themselves in such a difficult process, and sink into a sacred quietude until the storm was past, etc."

After this lengthy homily we finally come to some matters of historical value:

"In the meantime it happened, at the sounding of the heavenly call, that there were two sisters, according to the flesh, one named Anna, the other Maria, who became unanimous in the desire to leave their father's house and voluntarily enter into exile in the hope of attaining everlasting life. So they both took their bundles and started upon their sad journey, and upon their way sought out the well-known and by God honored spiritual leader named Conrad Beissel now Father Friedsam. He received them with great joy, and immediately cast about for means to build for them a small house, so earnestly that he even wrought with his own hands and spared no pains until it was finished.

"Who would have thought that in the exalted wisdom of God, so weighty a proof of his wonders, was placed in these two humble lowly vessels. As they were both very young, although the eldest named Anna soon fell into a high passion and caused the younger named Maria much mortification and constraint (*drang u. swang*) as she was altogether too deeply enamoured in God, and sought to

subjugate her whole life by the bitterest penance, such as fasting, vigils and mortifying of the flesh.

"This the other one [Anna] for certain reasons could not endure, and became so embittered that she, without any thought or hesitation, while in a disturbed state of mind, treated the other to a sound beating. This is not to be wondered at, when we consider how she in later times so miserably crossed the honored spiritual leader.

"She [Anna] also fell into the most dreadful [fits of] brutality, so that it would not have taken much to cause a shedding of blood, and brought so much disgrace and shame upon the work of God that it is not to be described here.

"In the meantime this innocent lamb [Maria], as a younger sister endured her tyranny with great patience, and swerved not a hair's breadth from her duty, earnest fasting or the mortifying of the flesh, until her body became so emaciated that her spiritual leader and father confessor admonished her about it, and with a loving reproach told her that she was overdoing the matter, whereupon she like unto a dutiful child gradually yielded, but with no other thought than that, by holy obedience, she would please God the more.

"Thus it happened that her spiritual zeal constantly increased so that she went to her spiritual leader, and addressed him with these words: 'Brother (for thus he was then called), I have a strong desire within me to have a nun's habit made for myself;' for then was the small herd of sheep still scattered here and there, and not yet gathered into one fold.

"The spiriual father soon noticed that there was more in this little movement than what appeared upon the surface; so he without delay helped to bring the work to completion, although the contrary minded sister appeared to consent and entered into it, yet her perverse spirit increased, so that to all appearances the outlook was that it would end in

a complete failure, as was shown later. But let this suffice about the two sisters. We will now leave the one, and confine ourselves to the other, and relate how she afterwards erected our dearly beloved Society of Spiritual Virgins and gathered them together as brides of the Lamb.

"Under the leadership of this person, it was never a question who was most competent in the Society to bear the honorable title of Spiritual Mother, for as soon as she entered upon that office all was changed. Now there came a demand for a life under rule and discipline (*regel u. Schrankenmässig leben*). Thus the above-mentioned wooer spent the time of her hard service among the sisterhood. Soon the longing came for a well ordered and circumscribed rule of table discipline. Then we sought well to discern the time for sleeping and waking, and as everything was viewed with moderate discreetness, it was sought to arrange the matter so that nature as a spiritual vessel and instrument was not blunted nor made uncomfortable, but rather willing and eager for the service of God.

"Thus the hours for sleep amount to six hours, as after the evening meal it happens that from the second to the fourth hour (7 to 9 P.M.) the time is occupied in school instruction and practice (*schülbungen*), be it writing, reading or singing, after which the three hours, fourth (9 P.M.) until the seventh (12 M.), are devoted to sleep. The seventh hour (12 to 1 A.M.) is devoted to the midnight mass (*nacht mette*), where the Christian and divine psalms and hymns are sung and the holy prayer attended until the ninth hour (2 A.M.) after which three hours, namely from the ninth until the twelfth hour (2 A.M. to 5 A.M.) are devoted to sleep. Thus the time is passed from night until morning, and everything is done within divine bounds and in regular order.

"The awakening takes place at the twelfth hour (5 A.M.) and is done in the greatest order. The time being devoted to holy contemplation, until the first striking of the first

hour (6 A.M.) then each and every one goes to their regular vocation or employment given them by the overseer until the fourth hour (9 A.M.), which hour is also devoted to spiritual and bodily refreshment. Little can now intervene to prevent us from keeping at our bodily employment until the twelfth hour (5 P.M.), then we again devote an hour to holy and divine contemplation until the first hour (6 P.M.), when our meal is prepared with great care and takes place, at which more attention is again given to obedience and moderation than to the kind of the viands."

The division of the day used at the Ephrata cloister varied from that in common use, as it was based upon the law of the post-exilian Jewish Sabbath and was regulated so as to conform strictly to the teachings of the New Testament. All time was counted by the full hour; even the clocks in the tower were made upon this plan, and had no minute hand, as may still be seen by the one in the Academy steeple, the handiwork of Dr. Christopher Witt the Germantown mystic, and which was fully described in our previous volume.[98] There was but a single hand to mark the hour of their reckoning, which was struck upon the bell. The day was divided into two parts of twelve hours each, night and morning.

The day began at what to us is six o'clock in the evening, the hour hand pointed to the figure one, and the hammer of the bell struck a single blow upon the resonant rim. This marked the beginning of the first hour of the new day. The original dials also were numbered so as to conform to this peculiar style, the numeral I being where we have the XII.

Another fact worth noting is that this is the only record we have of any community in America using this peculiar Scriptural division of the day.

The Sabbath was ushered in with the first hour of the sixth day (Friday, 6 P. M.) and closed at the end of the

[98] Volume I, page 379.

twelfth hour of the seventh day (Saturday, 5:59 P. M.), as before stated the peculiar reckoning was adopted so as to conform to the very letter of the law in the New Testament, wherein it states that the disciples broke bread upon the first day. The sacrament, they argued, was not administered by Christ, nor by the Apostles, upon the Sabbath, but upon the first day, counting, as the people of Ephrata did, the evening and the morning to make the day.

The Sabbath was always closed with religious services, so regulated that at the close of the Sabbath, as the bell in the steeple struck "one," the celebration of the Lord's Supper commenced with the washing of each other's feet, agreeably to the Saviour's command and example, as stated in St. John xiii., 14–15.

It will be noted that, according to the Ephrata reckoning the Sabbath ended at sunset (6 P. M.) of the seventh day, thus making the supper an imitation of that instituted by Christ, and resembling, also, the meeting of the Apostles upon the first day, to break bread, which has produced much confusion in some minds (among the Sectarians) in regard to the proper day to be observed.[99]

In perusing the following extracts from the rules and discipline of the Sisterhood it is well to bear in mind that the hour and time given is according to the Ephrata reckoning, as follows:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ist | hour | of | night | commences | 6 P.M. | of day | at 6 A.M. |
| II | " | " | " | | 7 P.M. | " " | 7 A.M. |
| III | " | " | " | | 8 P.M. | " " | 8 A.M. |
| IV | " | " | " | | 9 P.M. | " " | 9 A.M. |
| V | " | " | " | | 10 P.M. | " " | 10 A.M. |
| VI | " | " | " | | 11 P.M. | " " | 11 A.M. |
| VII | " | " | " | | 12 N. | " " | 12 M. |
| VIII | " | " | " | | 1 A.M. | " " | 1 P.M. |
| IX | " | " | " | | 2 A.M. | " " | 2 P.M. |
| X | " | " | " | | 3 A.M. | " " | 3 P.M. |
| XI | " | " | " | | 4 A.M. | " " | 4 P.M. |
| XII | " | " | " | | 5 A.M. | " " | 5 P.M. |

[99] Fahnestock MSS.

Reducing the daily routine of the Sisterhood, as originally instituted, to our present notation, we have:

6 P.M. to 7, chief meal of the day.
7 to 9, instruction (*Schulübung*).
9 to 12 N., sleep.
12 N. to 2 AM., religious services.
2 A.M to 5, sleep.
5 to 6, awaking, ablution and prayer.
6 to 9, labor.
9 to 10, refreshment and prayer.
10 A.M. to 5 P. M., labor.
5 to 6, spiritual contemplation.

Returning again to our old manuscript, and glancing over the rules of discipline, we read:

"On account of divers and various inner and outer troubles of the body and spirit, we have not been able thus far to advance in our worship of God and public devotions as would seem proper. As in the sixth hour of the night our sleep is broken by two hours of divine worship, even so it would appear meet that the time of labor be interupted by one or two hours, although we are used in all things to advance with quiet and gentle steps, we are not yet entirely settled. God, however, will grant unto us our heart's desire, tho' the present time may not allow us to make a complete plan how the time is to be kept.

"Thus far the Tabernacle of the Covenant with its portal to the Court, beyond which is the Holy and Holy of Holies, where God can be served without intermission, has not yet been erected. Therefor we will attempt at least a prophetic account, how it might in time come to pass or should be.

"As the whole matter is now in fairly good order from evening until morning nothing more will be said, but we will speak only of the time from morn until night; and as the worthy Society has thus far wrought well until the fourth hour, we will not mention the routine but make a beginning

with the twelfth hour in the morning [5 A.M.] and show how the whole day is to be kept.

"In the usual manner all are to be awakened at the twelfth stroke of the hour, after which, all, without delay are to assemble at their devotions, which are to continue for an hour or longer, when this is over, all are to go to their regular occupation until the fourth hour [9 A.M.] and as nought of interest takes place then, except that a little nourishment is taken, it were well to say that if any are so far advanced spiritually as to leave this hour pass [*i. e.* without taking nourishment] they may pass it in prayer. The fifth and sixth hours [10 A.M. to 12 M.] are to be devoted to labor, but the seventh [12 to 1 P.M.] shall be devoted with special diligence to prayer as a midday mass (*Mittags-mette*) of ¾ hour and in the twelfth hour in the evening [5 P.M.] before going to the table, they are to assemble and hold another devotional meeting of ¾ hour which will prove a glorious prepartion to our meal."

The old record then goes on to state:

"Firstly and before we pour over the whole matter, and give our final testimony and benediction over the entire inheritence of the Lord, we will first of all record the special benison and solemn invocation of each and every one, and make our beginning with the above named founder and *Vorsteherin* and then divide the society into seven classes."

Then follows a lengthy spiritual eulogy over the four founders of the order, viz: Prioress Maria, Sub-prioress Eugenia and Overseers Jael and Sincletica. Then follow the sisters forming the different classes:

CLASS I.

Ketura (Elizabeth Eckstein).
Phœbe (Christianna Lässle).
Efigenia (Anna Lichty).

CLASS II.

Flavia (——— Weiser), neice of Conrad Weiser.
Sevoram (——— Beissel), neice of Conrad Beissel.
Joseba ——— ———.
Augusta[100] ——— ———.

CLASS III.

Eufrosina (Catharina Gitter).
Eufrasia.
Hanna (——— Miller).
Blandina (Christina Funk).
Petronella (Maria Höcker).

CLASS IV.

Rahel (——— Landert).
Persida (——— Schuck).
Melonia (——— Brämin).
Armella (——— Fahnestock).
Catharina (——— Bohler).

CLASS V.

Naemÿ (——— Eicher).
Bassilla (Elisabeth Höfflÿ).
Meacha ——— ———.
Lucia (Catharina Foltz).

CLASS VI.

Paulina (Maria Miller).
Athanasia (——— ———).

CLASS VII.

Zenobia (Susanna Stattler).
Eufemia (——— Traut).
Serah (Salome Guth).
Constantia (Valentine Mack's daughter).
Sophia (——— Gorgas).

[100] Not included in Roster in Volume I, p. 309.

After this roster of classified sisters follows another invocation and list of sisters who were evidently not permanently enrolled in any of the seven classes:

"Now before we continue in this matter we will take our refuge under the wings of divine mercy and supplicate for grace, assistance, and help that He guide us so as to act wisely and have holy thoughts, thus we plead unto you as one: 'O thou mother of all things: protect thy servants from all deceitful snares of this world, and make them worthy to be received into the choir of everlasting virginity. We also commend unto you, our spiritual leader and superior, together with all such as take any interest in us, so that we may gain the jewels of the celestial bride. May it be granted unto them to speak wisely and act prudently, so that we, under their guidance may be brought under your fetters, bonds and subjection, and thus be and remain your true servants and pupils in all time and eternity.

"Upon this our unanimous sacrifice and willing subjection to the rules of our order and the divine wisdom, we will make the beginning and write down the names of all those obligated and in truth and love betrothed virgins, and will give them as they stand in regular order:"

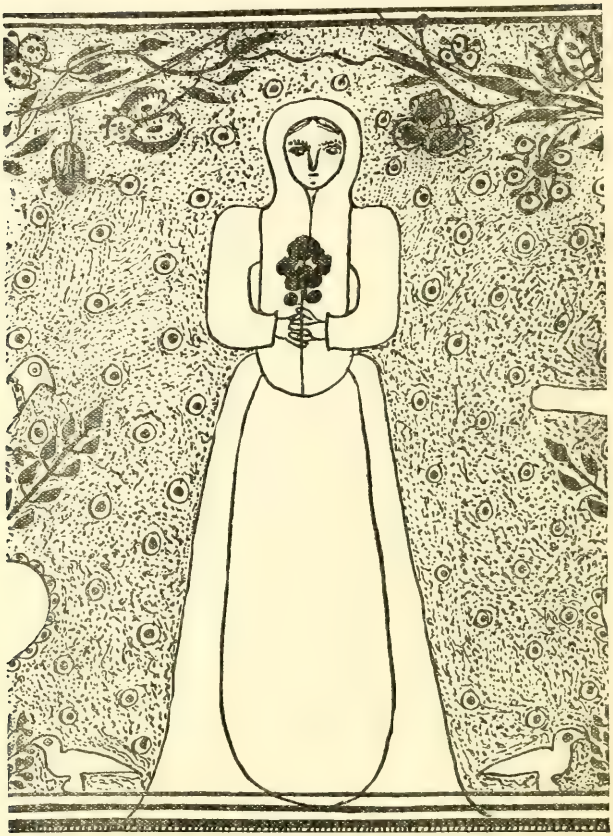
Theckla (——— Klopf).
Rebecca (——— Gehr).
Eunicke (——— Hanselman).
Drusiana (—— Hofflÿ).
Priscam (——— Graff).
Theresia (——— Stattler).
Genovefa (——— Funck).

Then follows the rule of the habit, a description of which has been fully given in a previous chapter.[101]

Resuming our story where it was broken off in the former volume it states:

"Further, this is now to be our rule, when summer time approaches, that owing to the heat we can no longer wear our winter clothing, the winter habits are to be discarded by all

[101] Volume I, pp. 300, *et seq.*



A Spiritual Virgin in the Habit of the Order, Sketch on Fly-leaf of MSS. Hymnal, Dated 1745.

Original in collection of the writer.

at the same time, and the regular and well ordered summer habits assumed, which as before stated are to be of light linen or cotton cloth, all to be supplied with hoods and veils.

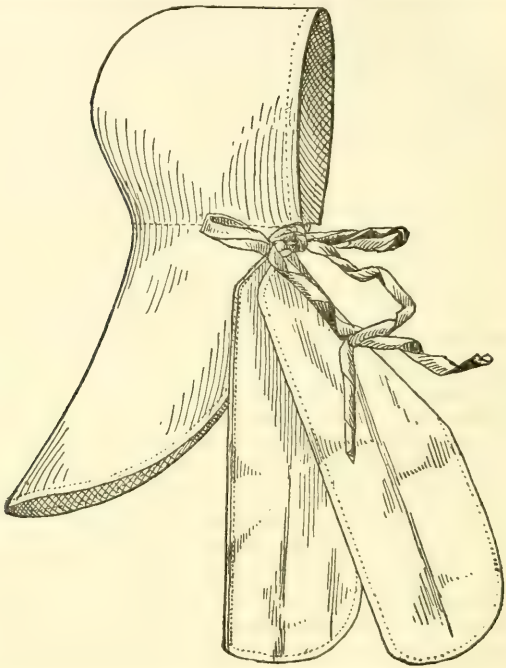
"It is understood that none are to act as they please, it is also ordered that as soon as the summer season is over, that the winter robes be assumed by the whole society as the rule demands. So that all look alike, no matter how many there may be.

"Novices shall abide by the same rule, so that no dissention become rife in the Community. Although we have not mentioned any specified time for said changes, let this be the rule, 'that at the end of the second month [April] the winter habits are to be discarded and the summer habits assumed, which shall be worn in general use until the end of the seventh month [September] when the winter habits shall again unanimously be assumed, so that in the outward appearance of the clothing, the unanimity of the spirit be not contradicted.'

"Now we will describe the rule and use of our every day clothing, and in what manner they are to be worn. First, we have a knit gown of grey [unbleached] fabric, just as nature supplies it. To this gown belongs a hood of same fabric, only that it may be of coarse flaxen cloth. It is arranged as follows: it is to be deep over the face, so that the head may be covered and enveloped, from this a veil [apron] is to hang from the front and back, long enough to be caught by the waist girdle. In front under the chin there are to be two small lapels, to further hide the body. For daily use knit socks are to be worn in place of shoes, they are to be made like shoes, reinforced with a coarse woolen cloth or thin leather sole, so that our walk may be quiet and silent. Our every day clothing is to be the same summer and winter." [102]

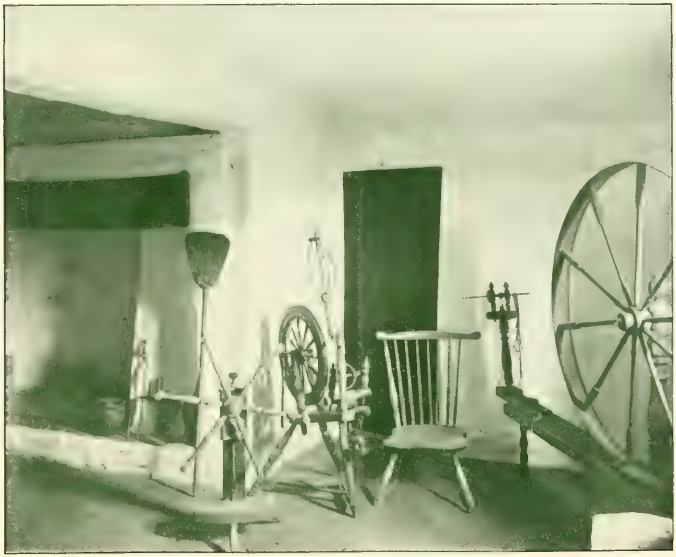
[102] This gown evidently took the place of under clothing and is here meant.

"Mention was made of black dyed clothing, but as these gradually faded until they again were of normal color, it is henceforth to be the rule, that no color is to be considered



HOOD WORN BY THE SISTERHOOD, SHOWING CAPE AND LAPELS. (One-sixth size.) Original in the collection of the writer.

in our spiritual community or family except such as is the result of nature. Much more could be said upon this subject. which might appear trivial, but unto us are sacred mediums and motives of spiritual life, as we well under-



A COMMUNITY ROOM IN SARON.

stand the meaning of the spirit, where all goes and aims toward a spiritual and divine union of the souls.

"What shall we say more of the quiet and justly in God enamoured souls, how they arrange their lives and conduct, so as to please only and alone their King of Heaven, whose kingdom is not of this world. Therefor our life and conduct cannot agree or conform to the world, whether it be in eating and drinking,—sleeping or waking,—in clothing or other requisite things pertaining to the natural life. Thus we have taken it into hand to deny and refute such engagements, and have schooled ourselves to be moderate in our eat and drink, and subsist upon little, and that with scant preparation, not according to the usual desire of nature, but merely reflecting upon the necessity of human frailty, so that the spirit may the more readily accomplish its divine task. Our sleep we have also arranged so that we can without great difficulty keep the time of our midnight vigil. Thus we make no further preparation when retiring to rest, than to lay down in the clothing or habits we wear during the day. Our couch is a bare bench, the pillow, a small block of wood,[103] or small straw pillow,—more frequently neither,—in this matter every one has their option.

"O! blessed souls, who are thus enriched by the King of heaven, that they be worthy to go out with him before the city and help carry his ignominy until death. Souls which the Lord at the proper time will exalt and set in honor in the house of our God." * * *

"Now follows our daily school practice and labors before God that we can bring our bodies under earnest subjection, so that the spirit may not be pained or hindred in its daily routine, therefor we regulate all our work so as to mortify the body under the spirit and bring it under bit and bridle, so that we can control it and guide it to the proper uses of the spirit.

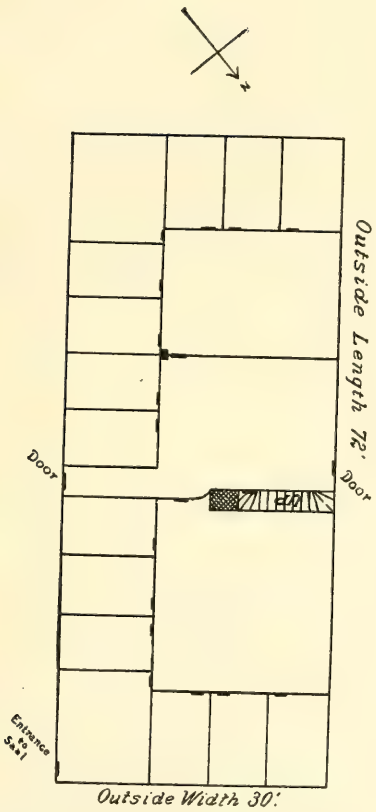
[103] Specimen in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

"As we have first renounced all vanities of the world, our future conduct will be guided according to the discipline of the body. We will begin by contracting to the utmost our eating and drink, sleep and waking. So that our whole life and conduct be that of a suffering and dying pilgrim upon earth, for which reason we have divorced ourselves from the ways and customs of this world, and daily and hourly learn the manner and laws of our crucified Jesus, who instructs us in all things and taught us abnegation of self, and to take up the cross and follow him.

"Then again it is to be mentioned what is requisite to keep duly and properly within bounds. Firstly, it is meet that we keep proper order with our eating. As it is set inevitably that there is to be but one meal a day, it will be held in the evening, and great stress is laid that the entire Society assemble at it. It may happen during the day that one perhaps takes a bite of bread, owing to our weakness, this is not prohibited to such as feel the necessity of it. Let them partake of the same as a special gift, and acknowledge themselves a debtor unto God, and pray for him to grant the strength yet wanting.

"What further concerns our virginal discipline, before the meal, all shall be served, and none shall have the right to exercise their own will, but show due respect. Whatever else takes place is an exception and not within the rule of discipline.

"Concerning our sleeping and waking, which is also within divine and regular bounds. Six hours are designated for spiritual and bodily rest, the remaining hours of the night we spend in dutiful spiritual and bodily exercises, for these six hours are kept with great strictness. For this purpose, one sister is ordered to see to the awaking of the whole society; when the time for sleep has expired, she is to light the candles and lamps in every room to awaken the sisters from their sleep. This order is changed weekly from one class to another. * * * The six hours of rest, can be




PLAN OF LOWER FLOOR OF THE EPHRATA SISTER HOUSE.

passed by each soul as she pleases. She can either sleep or stay awake, for they are given over to her welfare. The remaining time, however, comes under our virginal rule of discipline, which we have already said is to be passed in dutiful exercises.

"What then further concerns our intercourse with and toward one another, is this: It is to be striven in all seriousness and diligence, that our life be modest, quiet, tranquil and retired, so that each becomes an example for the other, and exemplifies the secret course of life and communion with God. All levity and needless gossip with one another, or light laughter, is not to be thought of, nor shall it occur in this spiritual society. Therefor it is unnecessary to make much of this rule, as it is not considered and much less likely to occur.

"It is further to be said of the mood of the hearts and souls who have sacrificed their whole life unto God, and live for him in the silent contemplation of their heart, and walk in his ways.

"Should it happen in our spiritual society that we have to go out among mankind, be it as a visit, or to follow the natural inclination of our mind, to call on friends or relatives. It is known to God how it all causes pain to both heart and spirit. There is no greater pain than this as it is all so contrary to our virginal discipline and can never agree with it, when it is done by reason of the weakness of the spirit, and not according to our rule, therefore we count it a disgrace when it occurs, etc. * * *

"According to our virginal discipline no visits can be permitted except such as are called for by an urgent necessity and if it were possible to be relieved entirely, it would be to our pleasure, then we could live entirely to the duties of our calling. But so long as circumstances that such is to be in our Society, that for spiritual and corporeal reasons cannot be obviated, it is requisite that we bring them under

order and within bounds, so that the desire lead not our preverse nature into temptation under the pretext of performing spiritual duties. Therefor proper precautions are to be taken, etc. * * *

"Now it is ordered that the sister selected as the overseer of her class is to be the absolute ruler and guide, governing herself so that the souls who stand before God and have been placed under her charge by the superior of the whole society are equally treated; that to none is given too much or too little; and when anything happens, no matter in which class, if one or another has any desire to go out the sister overseer, as the supervisor, is to well interrogate the souls of their desire for the proposed visit and learn whether their desire be a dutiful one of the mind or one of our perverted nature, which generally emanates from the uncontrolled will, not yet brought into subjection under the holy will of God and our discipline, etc. * * *

"Concerning the sisters who are chosen as overseers, they are well to instruct the souls and daily and hourly remind them of their hidden walk in the faith of God, and to steadily maintain that intercourse until our labor and trouble have reached a blessed end, and seek to discourage all unnecessary goings out to visit natural friends or acquaintances; further, to instruct and remind them that the tongue of truth hath taught and said that whosoever doth not give up father, mother, brother and sister, yea even his own life, cannot be my scholar nor follower.[104]

"It is to be noted that when one or another sister in a class finds that she wants to go out, be it either by duty or permission, she is to know that such is not to be according to her desire, but only after a previous application to the overseer of her class, who can investigate whether to grant or refuse and act as she thinks best the matter will stand

[104] Cf. Eckerlin broadside *Eine Geistreicher Spiegel or Wandel des Ein samen Lebens*, etc.

before God, assuming that the monitors will so shape their lives that they prove a bright example to their subordinates, who shall have confidence in their monitor, etc. * * *

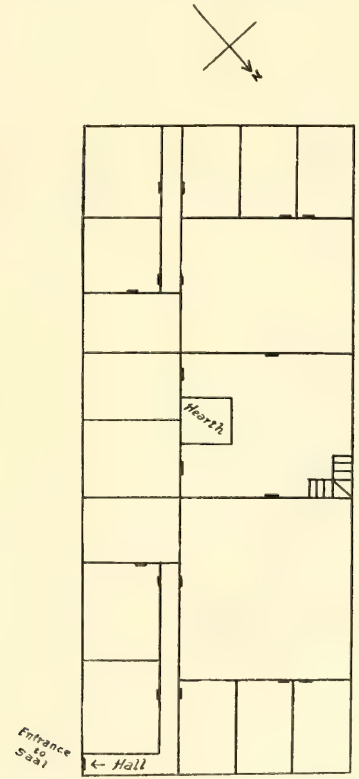
"First of all, in every class of sisters who live together a certain one shall be an overseer or monitor, who shall have supervision over all matters, opportunities and conditions as they present themselves. What her duties are to be will be briefly stated: Be it known that such a sister is to strive in all earnestness that her life and walk be without fault or blemish in the society, and she must be in unity and full accord with the spiritual and personal poverty and deprivation whereby our laudable community is blessed by God, etc. * * *

"To such a sister all power may be given, and she is to use her best endeavor for the souls and take heed of the outside trifles, such as the carrying of wood, kindling the fires, drawing water, lighting the lights. The time of awakening is to be well noted, and the rule for locking and securing the door is to be well seen to, so that all unseeming egress and incoming may be stopped. Then the society can all the more easily walk within the confined discipline of the rule of the spirit.

"Concerning the locking of the door, it is ordered that when the time comes for awakening, the appointed overseer, of whichever class she may be, shall designate a sister whom she considers most trustworthy to unlock the door as the clock strikes twelve in the morning (five o'clock A. M.) and they shall remain open until the second hour (seven o'clock A. M.), then be closed until the seventh hour (noon), and they shall remain wholly or half open until the time for sleep, when the fourth hour (nine P. M.) strikes, from which time the doors shall remain securely locked during the whole night, as the rule of the night naturally calls for locked doors. This attention and order is chiefly vested in the first and third classes, and they will govern

themselves accordingly, as they are located nearest the outer doors. The remaining classes are to be subject to the same rule," etc. * * *

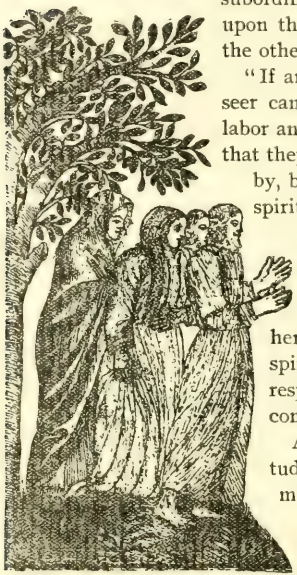
The next section deals with the duties of the sisters




PLAN OF THE SECOND FLOOR OF THE EPHRATA SISTER HOUSE.

toward each other and admonishes them "to cultivate greater confidence and trust in others than they have in themselves, as thus all frivolous gossip about fellow members, whereby their shortcomings and failings are criticised and aggravated, is soon lost through the labor and discipline to which we subject ourselves," etc. * * *

Then follows an admonition to the ruling sisters and subordinates, counseling obedience upon the one part and justice upon the other. At the close it says:



BEISSEL AND TWO SISTERS WITH CANDIDATE FOR BAPTISM.
From an old Kloster sketch.

"If any sister selected as an overseer cannot win the hearts by her labor and diligence, and bring about that they be blessed and profit thereby, but rather generates a sullen spirit of revolt against the good, then shall such sister well search and scrutinize her own heart and seek where the fault lies, and humble herself before God in a broken spirit in the thought that she is responsible for the others' shortcomings and inferiority," etc. *

After several pages of platitudes we come to the enforcement of the discipline:

"Therefore in each of the classes there shall be a certain sister, who stands in the name of the whole society, to have the oversight in a peculiar, circumspect and conscientious way, in accordance with the above rules of discipline, in no less a manner than falls in the course of

duty. In punishing and oversight such a sister shall be earnest and quick, as if walking before God.

"If, then, a sister does not comport herself in accordance with the Christian rules, and refuses to accept her punishment, she shall be reported to the overseer or to the mother superior, who will then rule according to the counsel and will of the higher mother of celestial wisdom. Here the mother heart will argue in patience and love for a betterment. If, however, after such admonition the evil is not abated it is a proof that such soul is perverse and incorrigible; so her name is to be stricken off, for a time, from the upper register, and be posted in shame and disgrace.

"Sisters breaking the covenant, or faithless, shall have their names expunged from the register, as they have deceived God and their neighbors.

"After a sister has been thus expelled she can only reenter the spiritual sisterhood after undergoing a penance of three months and living a year on probation, at the expiration of which the penitent soul may again be received after giving proof of her professed faith and love to the society; after which all that is past shall be forgotten forever, and her expunged name shall again be written among those of the espoused virgins."

Now follows the rule of the novices and what they have to do ere they can be received into the spiritual order of virgins enamored in Jesus.

First, they are to devote a year and a day to probation. If, at the end of that time, she has not been able to fully commit herself to take the vows of betrothal, to live in communion with the spiritual society, then she is to be dismissed forthwith, without additional time for probation, as such can then be done without detriment either to her or the sisterhood.

Upon the contrary, if the souls are content, out of love for an everlasting life, to enter with the enamored virgins and

brides of the Lamb upon the preparation of the divine wedding, and will, in the future, have no care but that of their pure virginity and bridal jewels, then they may cast their lot with the enamored virgins in Saron.

It is to be noted that then their names are to be erased from this register of novices and entered upon the roll of the spiritual virgins, etc.

No soul under the age of eighteen and one-half years can be received. For such as are past eighteen there is no law, etc.

It is not to be understood that no young persons are to enter the community. It is chiefly the obligation, or the final YES (*Ja*), that is not to be taken from any before the full time.

Herewith ends the rule of discipline. This is followed by several pages of platitudes and invocations, interspersed with spiritual eulogies of various sisters, whose import did not seem to warrant their translation. At the close of these eulogies there follows the testimony of Father Friedsam to the sisterhood. This is a long, wordy essay, after the style of his Theosophical Epistles. This is followed by an Echo and counter Echo.

Toward the back of the old manuscript, we find the register of such sisters who passed from time into eternity. After the entry of the sister's death and age, there is recorded the particular benison evoked at the time of her dissolution.

The custom of the Kloster was that when a sister died a special invocation was written in *fractur-schrift* and hung on the wall of her *Kammer* over her head, after the funeral the *Kammer* was closed for some length of time, the tablet remaining upon the wall in remembrance of the late occupant of the narrow cell.

A single specimen will suffice as an illustration:

XXIV. Our well beloved Sister *Föben* [*Phœbe*, Christianna Lässle] fell asleep in the Lord, March 4th, A.D. 1784, aged 66 years and 6 months.

Phœbe must grow green and blossom without growing old, her fruits and foliage wither not, her roots do not decay, and her inheritance is among the saints.

It is not to be understood from the above ascetic rules and discipline that these devout women led a life of ease and idleness, broken only at stated intervals by prayers and devotional exercises, on the contrary, from the very beginning the sisterhood became a hive of domestic industry. Strict attention was paid to the educational feature of the Community as well as to the industrial branches.

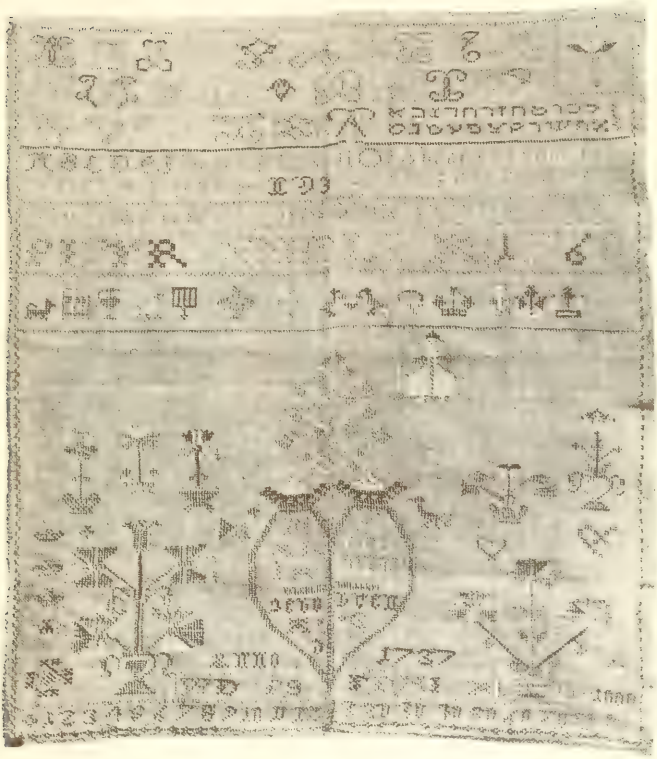
A reference to the floor plans of Saron will show nine large community rooms, into which opened the doors of the sisters' *Kammers*. These general chambers were used for various purposes, such as writing, caligraphy, copying music, engrossing, needlework, spinning, quilting, etc.; while the adjacent outbuildings were utilized for making sulphur match-sticks, household remedies, the drying and conserving of fruits, baking, etc.

The lower floor was occupied by the first and third classes who had the oversight of the door. One of the three large rooms upon this floor was used as the refectory. The Prioress Maria is said to have occupied the large *Kammer* in the southwest corner. Many specimens of the beautiful penwork of the sisterhood are shown upon the pages of this and the previous volume; illustrations have also been given of their proficiency in ornamental penmanship (*fractur-schrift*) and some of their engrossed bookwork, specimens of which are treasured in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Judge Pennypacker and of the writer. Sisters Anastasia and Effigenia are credited with being in charge of the writing-room, while the former was also one of the most active in the singing classes. Petronella, daughter of Brother Obed and Sister

Albina, was instructress in fine needlework. Her quaint specimen sample may be seen in the collection of the Historical Society where it was deposited some years ago by the writer. Another fine specimen, a finished linen towel, embroidered in turkey red, formerly in the writer's posession



EMBROIDERY PATTERN FROM EPHRATA CLOISTER.
One-fourth size of original. Collection of J. F. Sachse.



A "SAMPLER" BY SISTER PETRONELLA (1768).

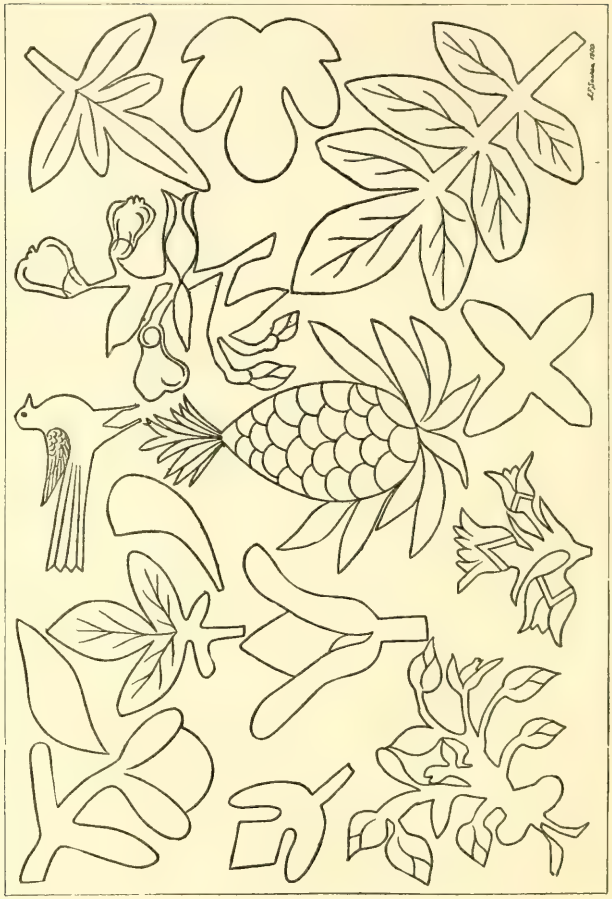
SHOWING THE CYPHER ALPHABET OF THE COMMUNITY IN UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER.

ORIGINAL IN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA

is now in the Archælogical Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Fine embroidery was also taught and practiced by the sisterhood. A specimen embroidery design is here reproduced from the original.

It was the quilting industry, however, which lingered longest among the inmates of the Kloster, long after the institution had commenced to fall into decay, and the sisters become old and infirm so that their hands could no longer guide the quill, nor their voices hold a note or run the scale, and even treading the spinning wheel or turning the reel was out of question, their long bony fingers could still hold the needle and guide it through the intricacies of the peculiar Ephrata designs, while others who were even debarred from this labor by the infirmities of age, laid the paste-board paterns on the fabric, while others marked them out with chalk ready for the sewers. This became the last industry practiced in a systematic way in the old Kloster. The inmates were wont daily to gather around the quilting frame, and so well was their work done that the demand for their *polster* or *ausnäh* of bedquilt and petticoat extended far and near. The original card-board patterns of of the *Ausnäh stub* are now in the writer's collection, outlines of a few are reproduced on the next page.

In addition to these varied female industries, these devout women cultivated their own gardens, raised the vegetables for their own and the Brotherhood's use, usually baked bread for both Orders, and attended to all the minor details of their domestic economy, often even having to split their own wood. Then they had charge of the preparations for the love feasts and the care of the Saal. Their services were also in demand for acts of charity, such as nursing the sick, comforting the afflicted and attending to various other missions of mercy. Such was the life of this band of religiously inclined noble and devoted women who lived in the Ephrata Sister House, and were known as the Order of Spiritual Virgins or the Roses of Saron.



DESIGNS USED BY EPHRATA SISTERHOOD FOR QUILTING PETTICOATS, BED-SPREADS, ETC. (See p. 205.)

Size one-ninth of original card-board patterns in collection of the writer.



## CHAPTER IX.

### THE ECKERLINS.



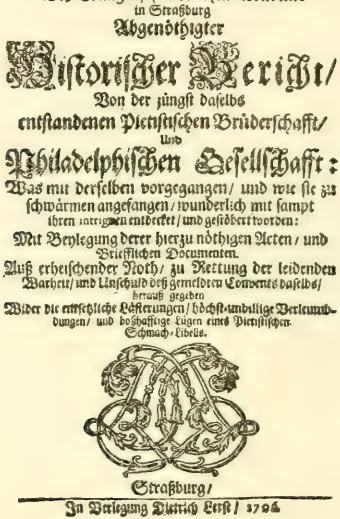
NEXT to Conrad Beissel no characters were more prominent in the early days of the Ephrata Community than the Eckerlin (Eckerling) brothers, four in number, Samuel, Emanuel (died in January 15, 1781), Israel (born 1705) and Gabriel. It was due to these men that the settlement developed into a semi-monastic institution, and became for a time the most extensive industrial and commercial establishment within the Province; and had their plans but matured, and had they proved equal to the requirements of their gigantic schemes, they would without doubt have developed into the most extensive enterprise in the New World.

Combining true piety, accentuated as it was by a love for mysticism, with a remarkable acumen for commercial enterprise, and being endowed with rare executive ability, the brothers found a fertile field for their schemes among the religiously-unsettled Germans in Lancaster county.

Many tales have been told of these four sturdy pioneers,

as to their parentage, religion and career, and it now appears that they were all far from the truth. For authentic information we have thus far been confined to the meagre notice in the *Chronicon Ephratense*, which to the historian, to say the least, is unsatisfactory.

Now, however, after a long and persistent search, here and in Europe, there has been brought to light a little-


Deß Evangelischen Kirchen-Conuents
in Straßburg
Abgenöthigter
Historischer Bericht/
Von der jüngst daselbs
entstandenen Pietistischen Brüderschafft/
Und
Philadelphischen Gesellschafft:
Was mit derselben vorgegangen/ und wie sie zu
schwärmen angefangen/ wunderlich mit sampt
ihren intrigen entdecket/ und gestöhrt worden:
Mit Beylegung derer hierzu nöthigen Acten/ und
Brieffl. Documenten.
Auß erheischender Noth/ zu Rettung der leidenden
Warheit/ und Unschuld deß gemeldten Conuentes daselbs/
herauß gegeben
Wider die entsetzliche Lästerungen/ höchst-unbillige Verleumdungen/ und boßhaffte Lügen eines Pietistischen
Schmach-Libells.
Straßburg/
In Verlegung Dietrich Ertzt/ 1706.

Book Containing Account of Michael Eckerlin.

known book, which sheds some further light upon the interesting history of these prominent actors in our religious drama, enacted in the romantic valley of the Cocalico, and it offers us a clew as to the parentage in question and the causes which brought the family to these shores.

From this old book we learn that they were, by birth, Alsatians, sons of Michael and ——— Eckerlin, and born, baptized and brought up in the Lutheran faith.

The father, Michael Eckerlin, a reputable burgher, was a master tailor by trade, who followed capmaking as a specialty (*Kappenschneider*, *Kappenmacher*, in the record). His establishment, which must have been one of some importance, was in the *Fladergasse*, in the city of Strasburg. He was a man of good repute in both church and community, and served some time as *Rathsherr* or Councillor.

Toward the close of the seventeenth century a *Collegium Pietatis* and Philadelphian Society was formed in Strasburg. The leading spirit of the former was one Johann Heinrich Krafft, a shoemaker by trade, but who now posed as a schoolmaster and expounder of mysticism. Michael Eckerlin was induced to attend some of these collegia, and, becoming interested, neglected his church services for the new doctrine, and henceforth became a prominent member in both the *Collegium Pietatis* and the Philadelphian Society.



Arms of Strasburg.

It was not long after this time when the authorities notified Krafft to cease his ministration or he would be expelled from the city. The latter at once promised to conform to the edict and closed his house.

In the meantime Krafft induced Eckerlin, who was then a widower, to take his (Krafft's) maidservant to wife, which he did, after some hesitation. The new wife was of the Reformed faith, and was strongly impregnated with the fanaticism of her late master. The meetings, after being suppressed in Krafft's house, were now stealthily resumed in the Eckerlin house in the *Fladergasse*, and the master capmaker, under the tutelage of his wife, became so enrapt with the hetrodox speculations that he even presided at the gatherings, in the absence of Krafft, and always offered up

the opening prayer. When this became known to the authorities an official visitation was made to the house in the *Fladergasse* by *Pfarrer Iller*, who surprised the collegium in full swing. Michael Eckerlin protested against the in-

Psalm XC. 5.

**Du lässest sie dahin fahren wie einen Strom/ und sind wie ein Schlaff; gleich wie ein Gras/ das doch bald welck wird.**




Psalm XC. 12.

**Lehre uns bedencken/ daß wir sterben müssen: auf daß wir klug werden!**

An Ephrata Todtentanz (Chorea Machabæorum). Emblematical Symbol Showing the Power of Death over Man.

trusion and the charges made, claiming that the persons present were merely personal friends who called to pay a social visit.

These excuses and explanations, however, failed to satisfy

the authorities, and both Krafft and Eckerlin were arrested and brought before the civil authorities, by whom they were tried and convicted, March 1, 1701. Krafft was sentenced to leave town within three days and go beyond the Rhine or be imprisoned. Michael Eckerlin was deprived of his office as *Rathsherr* and was ordered to abstain in the future from any such *Conventicula*, and neither to keep, hold nor countenance them, under the pain of similar expulsion from the city of Strasburg.

How Michael Eckerlin obeyed the mandate does not appear from the records at the disposal of the writer. Certain it is, however, that a few years later (it must have been after 1708) Michael Eckerlin, his wife and four sons left Strasburg and journeyed to Schwarzenau. Here the family appear to have settled and affiliated with the congregation of *Täufer*, led by Alexander Mack. Israel Eckerlin, one of the sons, has left some little information of his family history. This was incorporated in the manuscript *Chronicon* or Diary, an abstract of which was printed in the *Chronicon Ephratense.* From this we learn that Michael Eckerlin, while at Schwarzenau, stood in good repute on account of his piety. After his death his widow, with her four sons and Samuel's wife, emigrated to Pennsylvania, where they arrived some time during 1725.

The passage was evidently a rough one, and Israel proved a poor sailor and succumbed to a bad attack of seasickness, during which he made a vow that if the Lord would help him he would become converted and begin a different life after he got on land. As soon as he landed, however, he states that "vanity again took hold of him."

The widow Eckerlin, who was a person of some means, immediately upon her arrival sought the Hermits on the Ridge, and upon their advice bought a plantation near Germantown, and forthwith took possession. This was in the fall of 1725. The farm evidently was much run down,

and matters went from bad to worse, and she was forced to sell it again before the year was out, whereupon she purchased Johannes Hildebrand's farm. This farm was also in bad order, the cellar walls of the house being unsafe. To make the necessary repairs a stonemason, named Heinrich Miller, was called in, and before he had finished Israel was indentured to him for a period of two years, without any written indenture. His master was a God-fearing man and had experienced an awakening in this country.

Gabriel, the youngest son, was indentured to Johannes Gumre, whose acquaintance we have made in the earlier chapters of our story. Gabriel was less fortunate than his brother, as Gumre proved a stern, exacting master, and the apprentice's lot was anything but a sinecure.

During the sojourn of the Eckerlin family upon their farm Michael Wohlfarth was a frequent visitor at their hospitable home. Israel states that upon such occasions his mother and Wohlfarth were apt to prolong their talks far into the night, the theme being the state of true Christianity. So edifying were their discourses that their souls were inflamed with the spirit of the Conestoga congregation.

Shortly after one of these visits Israel and his master came to Conrad Matthäi's to do some work, and he advised both, if they wanted to better their spiritual condition, to leave Germantown and go to Conestoga, where the people lived in great simplicity, almost equal to the Swiss who were there. This so pleased master and man that they journeyed to the Conestoga valley in August, 1727, and there wrought at their trade. For a time they adhered to the Mennonites, whose simplicity of dress pleased them more than their mode of worship.

Shortly after their settlement in the Conestoga valley the two men attended one of Beissel's meetings, and were surprised to find present an old Schwarzenau Dunker, Abra-

ham Duboy, who, after the meeting, asked Beissel and Wohlfarth to adopt young Eckerlin, so that he should not be neglected. Thus Israel writes: "In this manner I came to the Congregation."

During the next year (1728) both he and his master, while doing some work for Christopher Sauer, at his farm on the Mill creek, were induced again to attend Beissel's meetings, which ended by the three men, Henrich Miller, Israel Eckerlin and Jacob Gass, being admitted into the new congregation by holy baptism on Whitsunside (June 9) 1728.

There appears to be no record when the three remaining brothers were baptized by Beissel. In the year after his immersion (1729) and after his apprenticeship was served we find Israel living together with Jacob Gass in Jan Meyle's cabin, on Mill creek, and in the same year he is sent out by Beissel to Oley as a revivalist and to assist Andreas Frey in forming a Dunker congregation. It was about this time that the widow Eckerlin and her youngest son Gabriel came to the Conestoga valley, and were shortly afterward joined by Samuel and his wife Catharina. The mother died soon after her arrival. Samuel became an active Sabbatarian and was one of the number arrested in 1731. In the next year we find him in Philadelphia, supervising the printing, by Franklin, of the German hymn book of 1732, which was quickly followed by Franklin's effort to establish a German newspaper in the Province, the first number of which appeared June 11, 1732, and was the first German newspaper printed in the Western World. So far as known but three numbers were issued, the edition printed numbered but fifty copies, and even these were not disposed of. Within the past few months a specimen of this unique publication was found among some old papers, a fac-simile is here presented. Tradition tells us that both Beissel and Samuel Eckerlin were factors in inducing

Franklin to embark in this venture.[105] Certain it is, that in type, style and make-up the *Zeitung* corresponds with that of the hymn-book.

During this time the other brother, Emanuel, had retired to the wilds of the forest and there lived the life of a hermit.

How the brothers came to the settlement on the Cocalico (1733-4) has already been fully told; also their course in organizing the devotees into a semi-monastic community. All four became active revivalists and exhorters, and at the same time combined a remarkable executive ability with commercial shrewdness.

How they were arrested and imprisoned, in 1736, and suffered for conscience sake, has been fully narrated; also their career as revivalists in the various places whence they went to spread the peculiar doctrine of the Kloster.

The four brothers, one of whom (Israel), after the death of Agonius, became the first regular prior of the community and the second in authority, were the real factors of progress in the institution. The development of the commercial and industrial feature was due solely to their efforts and activity. In this particular they were diametrically opposite to Beissel, who represented the theosophical development of the settlement. These differences led to serious troubles in the community and ended with the expulsion of the four brothers. The story has been told of how they wrought up the settlement until it was the greatest industrial estate in the Province, having its five mills, many industries, and its own printing presses.

The dethronement and expulsion of the Eckerlin brothers was evidently a premeditated affair, the plans for which were carefully and artfully laid by Beissel. According to the original diary a commencement was made early in the year 1745 by gradually withdrawing the brothers who assisted Prior Onesimus in his services in Peniel, and the end was

[105] *Cf.* Volume I, pp. 316–17.

( No. II. )

# Philadelphiſche ZEITUNG.

SONNABEND, den 24 Jun. 1732.

WIEwohl ich geglaubet hätte, daſs ſich unter denen teutſchen Einwohnern dieſes Landes mehr Liebhaber ſolten gefunden haben, die dieſes zumahl vor junge Perſohnen ſo nützliche werck, die ausgabe der Zeitungen nehmlich, befördern, und dazu mit anſtehen würden; ſo erſtrecket ſich doch die anzahl derer die ſich dazu unterſchrieben haben vor jetzo nicht über 50. Nichts deſto weniger habe auf meiner ſeiten nicht ermangeln wollen damit einen anfang zu machen, der hoffnung lebende, daſs ſich noch mehrere einfinden werden ſelbiges zu befördern, ſonſten ich mich genöthiget ſehen würde, bald wieder damit auf zu hören.

Ich hatte zwar in meiner erſten Zeitung verſprochen dieſelbe alle 8 tage zu publiciren, doch die meiſten ſtimmen haben erwählet dieſelbe lieber vor 5. Schillinge das gantze Jahr alle 14 tage einmahl zu haben; weilen alsdann füglicher zwey und zwey eine zeitung halten, und jede perſon gemächlicher die helffte bezahlen könte; Welches ich mir dann auch gefallen laſſe, und ſelbige von nun an alle 14. tage einmal heraus geben will. Die Anſprache des Königes von England, welche ich in meinem vorigen verſprochen, weil ſie allzulang, und ich einen andern vorrath von Neuigkeiten bekommen, habe lieber wollen auslaſſen, wie ich auch um der urſachen willen meine erklährungen, die wohl über einige ſachen nöthig geweſen wären, lieber auf eine andere gelegenheit verſpahre, und nur die brieffe von wort zu wort jetzo mittheile.

*Conſtantinopel* Decemb. 15.

HIer iſt ein Courier angekommen, mit der Copey eines Friedens-Tractats, welchen der König von Perſien dem Baſſa in Babilonien zugeſandt; nachdem ſelbige von dem Groſs-Vizier denen andern Miniſtern in dem Seraglio iſt communiciret worden, hat man ſie in einem general Divan, welcher am 12. dieſes monaths zu dem ende expres iſt gehalten worden, geleſen, und nur wenige veränderungen darin gemacht. Man ſagt daſs vermöge dieſes Tractats der groſſe Sultan verpflichtet ſey, alle die von Perſien eroberte Provintzien wiederum zu geben, ausgenommen Georgia und die alte Provintz von Babilonien: Dageſtan ſolle dem Printzen wieder eingeräumet werden, der deſſen Souveraines Herr eigentlich iſt, und welcher alhier ſchon anderthalb Jahr um dieſe reſtitution angehalten: Daſs die zwey durch dieſen Frieden vereinigte Machten ihre kräffte zuſammen ſpannen ſollen, die Moſcowiter zu zwingen alles was ſie von Perſien genommen haben, auch wieder zu geben; doch daſs ſie disfals zu keiner thätlichkeit kommen ſollen, biſs ſie vorhero alle mittel der unterhandlung verſuchet haben; im fall die Czarin aber ſolches weigern ſolte, ſie ihre waffen nicht niederlegen wollen, biſs alle die Lander wieder erobert ſeyn. Was eine jede von dieſen zweyen Machten währenden dieſem Kriege erobern werde, ſolle derſelben verbleiben.

Weiters wird verſichert, daſs der Groſs Vizier gewiſſen fremden Miniſtern ein Memorial hat laſſen einhandigen, worinnen er trachtet die nothwendigkeit zu behaupten, daſs man ſich der allzu groſſen Anwachſung der Moſcowitiſchen macht entgegen ſetze; und von was groſſem gewicht es vor das Ottomanniſche Reich ſey, dieſelben von der Caſpiſchen See zu vertreiben. Es werden verſchiedene Kriegs-Schiffe vom erſten und zweyten rang gebauet, und groſſe Magazinen von geſchütz und mund proviſion aufgerich-

FAC-SIMILE OF THE FIRST GERMAN NEWSPAPER PUBLISHED IN THE WESTERN WORLD.

gerichtet: Auch hat seine Hoheit an die Bassas der See Provintzien ordre gesandt, ihm eine gewisse anzahl Matrosen und Transport-Schiffe zu furniren. Der grosse Sultan hat sich nun 3. monath lang in seinem Serrail sehr verborgen gehalten, und läst sich sehr selten von seinem volcke und Trouppen sehen, welches einige gelegenheit zu murmuriren unter ihnen giebt.

*Florence* Februar. 2.

Wir vernehmen von Corsica, dass die Rebellen, nach dem vortheil welchen sie zu Calmiano gewonnen hatten, den Flecken Biguglia, nahe bey Bastia, mit solchem muth angegriffen haben, dass sie denen Soldaten, so durch die mauren auf sie gefeuert, die Flinten aus den händen genommen. In dem ersten anfall bemächtigten sie sich eines Postens worinnen ein Corporal u. 16 Mann war, sie wurden aber von dem Capitain so in dem Flecken mit 150 mann commandirete, wieder zurück getrieben, doch solten sie sich noch Meister dieses orts gemacht haben, in welchen sie schon an zwey unterschiedlichen orten einen eingang gewonnen hatten, wenn nicht der Colonel Wachtendonck einen succours von 400 Mann gesandt und selbst mit 1000 Mann gefolget wäre, ihnen den pass ab zu schneiden, welches sie dennoch vorgekommen, und in ihre gebürge, welche fortificiret, und fast vor unüberwindlich gehalten werden, sich bey zeiten retirirer hätten. Sie drohen in kurtzen einen neuen anfall auf Bastia und St. Florentz zu unternehmen.

*Wien* Januar. 12.

Es werden zukünftige woche etliche Doctores und Balbierer nach den Türckischen Gräntzen geschicket die ausbreitung der contagion und ansteckenden seuche in Siebenbürgen, allwo bereits einige Dörffer inficiret sind, zu verhindern. Der Graf von Levoldi, General Leutenant der Czarischen Armee, welcher hier unter dem titul eines Ministers der besagten Keyserin angekommen ist, hat drey privat Audientzen beym Keyser gehabt, und ihm die auf dem tapet seyende Heyrath des Kronprintzen von Preussen mit der Printzessin von Mecklenburg, Tochter des Hertzogs dieses namens, bekandt gemacht.

*Wien* Februar.

Hier wird unterschiedentlich gesprochen von dem neuen Eyde welchen die unterthanen der Czarin von Moscau haben müssen ablegen, denjenigen vor den rechtmäßigen Auffolger zur Krone zu erkennen, welchen die Czarin dazu in ihrem Testamente benennen soll. Durchgehends glaubet man dass die wahl wol auf die Printzessin von Mecklenburg, die den 18. Decemb. 1718. gebohren ist, und sich nun verheyrathen will, fallen dörffte.

*Berlin* Januar. 1.

Diesen morgen gieng der König nach Potsdam, die ankunfft des Hertzogen von Lothringen alda abzuwarten. Die Königin mit denen Printzessen Charlotta und Sophia sollen künfftigen Sonntag auch dahin gehen, nebst der Marckgräffin Gemahlin des Erbprintzen von Baseith welche den 9 dieses mit ihrem Gemahl die Reise auf Leipzig, und von da weiter nach Bareith fortsetzen werden. Zwey Deputierte von denen Saltzburgischen Protestanten haben eine Audientz bey dem Könige gehabt, welcher sie sehr liebreich empfangen und ihnen 100 Ducaten verehret hat, dabey auch versprochen ihnen Land und andere grosse vortheile zu geben, in fall einige von ihren brüdern sich in seinem territorio wolten niederlassen. Der König. sch. ine sehr bewogen zu seyn wegen des elendes so diese arme leute der Religion wegen ausstehen, auch kan ihre festigkeit und beständigkeit unter solchem druck nicht genugsam bewundert werden.

In dieser Stadt und Vorstädten sind im verwichenen Jahre 641. paar ehelich zusammen gegeben, 3064. kinder beyderley geschlechts, und 336. Hurkinder gebohren, und 3153. männer, weiber und kinder gestorben.

*Franckfurt* Januar. 6.

Mit letzten briefen von Berlin hat man, dass der König aus löblichen eiffer vor die armen verfolgten Saltzburger, die zwey Deputierte welche nach Berlin gekommen seine vorsprache vor ihre gefangene Mitbrüder zu ersuchen, durch den Consistorial Rath Reinbeck und einen andern berühmten der Augsburgischen Confession zugethanen Prediger, ihres Glaubens-bekantnisses halben hat examiniren lassen, aus deren antwort erhellet, dass sie weder Arianer, Schwärmer noch Enthusiasten seyn, wie ihre feinde die Papisten von ihnen ausstreuen sie verhast zu machen, und sie der jämmerlichen Freyheit aus ihrem Vaterlande zu ziehen, damit sie ihre Religion anderwerts ausüben möchten, zu berauben.

*Franckfurt* Januar. 16.

Von Regensburg vernimt man, dass der Churfürst von Beyern endlich denen vertriebenen Saltzburgern eine freye Passage durch sein land vergönnet, auch so gütig gewesen, dass er denen so benöthiget zu seyn schienen, täglich 7 Creutzer hat lassen austheilen, weswegen die Evangelischen Stände begriffen sind eine danckfagungs-schrifft an gedachten Churfürsten aufzustellen. Besagte Stände haben aufs neue eine conferentz gehalten, in welcher resolviret worden an den Minister von Saltzburg ein anderwertiges Memorial zu übergeben, und darinnen anzuzeigen; dass der berahmte termin biss auf



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nechſten April zur abreiſe der eingeſeſſenen Proteſtanten in Saltzburg nicht genugſam ſey, und daſs der Weſtphaliſche Friede eine zeit von drey jahren ſetze; daſs derowegen die Printzen von Saltzburg keine macht haben die Reichs-Conſtitutiones zu ändern, ohne zuſtimmung der andern Staten. Wir haben alhier nachricht, daſs den 14. dieſes die Erb Printzeſſin von Baden-Durlich einen Sohn zur welt gebracht.

*Hamburg* Februar. 1.

Es gehet ein gemein gerücht, daſs der regierende Hertzog von Mecklenburg die Catholiſche Religion anzunehmen willens ſey. Particuliere briefe von Berlin berichten, daſs der Kronprintz von Preuſſen, nachdem man viele beredungen dazu gebrauchet, endlich reſolviret iſt die junge Printzeſſin von Mecklenburg zur Gemahlin zu nehmen, und daſs die ſucceſſion des Ruſſiſchen Reichs, in anſehung deſſen, wol auf ſeine Königl. Hoheit möchte feſt geſtellet werden.

*Amſterdam* Februar. 4

Man ſchreibet aus dem Haag, daſs der Frantzöſiſche Ambaſſadeur, Marquis de Fenelon den 3 dieſes eine lange conferenz mit einigen Herren von der Regierung gehabt, worauf den 4. ein congreſs von fremden Miniſtern wegen auserordentlichen affairen iſt gehalten worden. Von Venedig wird gemeldet, daſs die ausländiſche proteſtantiſche Kauffleutbe allda ſolchergeſtalt dutch das elend, der Saltzburger ſind bewogen worden, daſs ſie eine collecte gethan, und 600. Gulden nach Augsburg übermachet haben. Wir haben jüngſthin alhier einen groſſen Sturmwind gehabt, welcher vielen ſchaden gethan, und unter andern das dach eines hauſes neben dem Frantzöſchen Coffee hauſe abgeworffen, wodurch 3. menſchen, unter welchen ein Vater und ſohn, zerſchmettert ſind: Des folgenden tages iſt das waſſer höher als jemahls bey menſchen gedencken geweſen, welches woferne es nicht vor der zurückkunfft der Fluth gefallen wäre, die dämme ſolte durchbrochen und das gröſte theil des landes ſolte überſchwemmet haben. Vier geladene ſchiffe ſind in dieſem ſturm zu grunde gegangen, und 2 menſchen vertruncken.

*Haag* Februar. 19.

Brieffe von Wien melden, daſs an daſigem hofe ins geheim gehandelt wird 2 neue Churfürſtenthümer auf zu richten, eines vor den Hertzog von Lothringen, und das andere vor den König von Schweden, als Landgraffen von Heſſen-Caſſel, daſs dadurch das gleichgewicht zwiſchen den Proteſtanten und Catholiſchen in dem Churfürſtlichen Collegio möge bewahret werden. Und dieſes, ſagt man, ſey die vornehmſte urſach geweſen, warum ſich der Hertzog von Lothringen, welcher nach Franckreich, England und den vornehmſten Höffen in Teutſchland eine reiſe gethan, ſich an einigen derſelben ſo lange aufgehalten. Die plötzliche zurückreiſe des Königs von Polen in ſeine Erblande ſchreibet man der ſehr groſſen geneigtheit zu, die er vor die Printzeſſin von Holſtein, vor dieſem Gräffin von Orzelska, und natürliche tochter des Königs, allezeit gehabt hat und noch häget, und daſs er hat wollen gegenwärtig ſeyn bey ihrer niederkunfft: Doch andere vermuthen mit mehr wahrſcheinlichkeit, daſs dieſe zurückreiſe einer überzeugung, daſs die Partey des Königs Stanislaus in Polen zu groſs geworden, bey zu meſſen ſey; ja ſo fern, daſs da die affaire der ſucceſſion zur Polniſchen Krone letztlich aufs tapet gebracht würde, man jemand in voller Verſammlung ausruffen hörete: *Keinen Churfürſtlichen Printzen zum Succeſſor.* Dieſes ſind auswürckungen der Frantzöſiſchen Louis d'ors, welche nicht kärglich unter die Groſſen in Polen ausgeſtreuet ſind. Unterdeſſen will man verſichern, daſs die Reiſe des Königs nach Warſchau auf den 26. dieſes monaths feſt geſtellet ſey.

Man glaubet hier durchgehends, daſs ſich Franckreich ernſtlich zum kriege rüſte, und die Ottomanniſche Pforte verpflichtet habe, ſich gegen einige Chriſtliche Potentaten zu declariren, und im fall es zu einer ruptur kommen möchte, eine diverſion zu machen. Deswegen auch die Keyſerlichen Trouppen nicht vermindert, noch wie man ſich in den Käyſerlichen Landen flatiret hat, die Taxen und Impoſten erleichtert worden, ſondern es werden vielmehr dieſelbe zu waſſer und land, dem letzt disfals gemachten entwurf zu folge vermehret; und ſagt man, daſs zu jeder Compagnie zu fuſs und pferd 5. mann ſollen hinzu gefüget werden, welches gewiſs keine kleine anzahl ausmachen wird. Auch hat man nachricht, daſs der König von Preuſſen zu Marienwerder, Landsberg an der Warte und andern Oertern anſtalt machet, eine Armee von 45000. mann zu formiren, und verſchiedene Regimenter nach den Litthauiſchen und Churländiſchen Gräntzen abmarſchiren zu laſſen. Der Groſs-Meiſter von Maltha hat circulair brieffe ausgeſchicket, alle zum Maltheſer Orden gehörige Ritter aufzufordern, daſs ſie ſich in der Inſul einſtellen, und bereit ſeyn ſollen dieſelbe zu defendiren, im fall die Türcken, welche groſſe zurüſtungen zur See machen, dieſelbige attaquiren möchten.

Die Keyſerin von Moſcau iſt den 26 Jan. zu Petersburg angekommen, und hat den folgenden tag ihren öffentlichen einzug in dieſer Stadt mit groſſem pracht gehalten. Sie ſoll vor ihrer abreiſe

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reise von Moscau einen Tractaat mit dem Römischen Keyser gezeichnet haben, dieses innhalts: Dass im fall entweder der Keyser oder Moscau von dem Turcken solte attaquiret werden, dann die Czarin mit einer Armee von 100000. mann an den gräntzen von der Ukraine solte agiren, und der Keyser mit einer Armee an den gräntzen von Wallachien.

*Paris* Mart. 26.

Am verwichenen Sonntage nachmittag ungefehr eine viertel stunde vor fünf Uhr, wurde die Königin in Franckreich glücklich von einer Printzeffin erlöset. Der König war den 4. Febr. 22. Jahr alt, und hat nun zwey Söhne und vier Töchter. Unser Hoff hat ordre gegeben, die ausrüstung der 12. Kriegsschiffe zu Brest und Toulon so viel immer möglich zu beschleunigen, welche bestimmet sind, wie vorgegeben wird, von denen zu Algier satisfaction zu fordern wegen des Friedens-bruches.

PHILADELPHIA Jun. 23.

Mit dem letzten Schiff von London, Capt. Reeves, hat man hier die nachricht bekommen, dass unser Proprietor vor der Abreise besagten Schiffs mit einem Capitain in London accordiret, und sich verbunden habe den ersten Mey an bord des Schiffes zu seyn, und seine Reise nach Pennsylvanien an zu treten, so dass selbiges nunmehro mit dem ersten Schiffe täglich erwartet wird.

In einer Gazette von Boston vom 29. Mey ist folgendes Advertissement publiciret worden, woraus man sehen kan, dass die 5. arrestirte Personen übel genug daran sind, und vielleicht noch, nach so vielem ausgestandenen elend, das gericht werden bezahlen müssen, so sich ihrer niemand annimmt.

Nachdem auf anstifftung und eingebung verschiedener Personen, welche den Capitain des Schiffs Liebe und Einigkeit, Jacob Lobb, mit grosser Barbarey gegen gewisse Pfältzer in seinem Schiffe, auf ihrer Passage von Holland zu Martha's Vineyard, beleget haben, die Ehrsame Richter des Königlichen Obergerichts gut gefunden haben, denselben zu verpflichten dass er vor dem Obergerichte von Rechts-sachen, &c. welches den vierdten Dienstag im Mertz letzthin zu Barnstable vor die County von Barnstable gehalten worden, erscheinen, und dasjenige so von des Königs wegen gegen ihn eingebracht werden möchte, beantworten solle; da er dann diesem zu folge erschienen, und wegen zweyer unterschiedenen Beschuldigungen des Mords von der grossen Jury dieser County gegen ihn gefunden, examiniret worden, und nach einem 6 Stunden lang gewährtetem Wortwechsel die kleine Jury ihr urtheil geschwind einbrachten als unschuldig von der ersten anklage, und wenig minuten hernach ein gleiches wegen der andern beschuldigung. NB. Es wurde bey der examinirung observiret, dass das elend so diesen Passagieren begegnet, nicht von einer gewinnsüchtigen begierde des Capitains, oder vorsetzlichen Intention die Reise zu verlängern hergekommen, sondern die länge derselben müsste, wie aus dem Tag-register des Capitains, und der Eydlichen aussage aller Matrosen erhellete, dem contrairem Winde und der Wind-stille zugeschrieben werden: Und konten die Zeugen von des Königs seiten den Capitain mit keiner eintzigen ausübung einer Härtigkeit währender reise belegen. Weswegen der Capitain sich zu rechtfertigen gut gefunden seinen verletzten caracter öffentlich zu defendiren; insonderheit in ansehung der falschen und schändlichen advertissementen, welche sind publiciret worden denselben zu beflecken, und die gemüther des volcks mit vorurtheilen gegen ihn ein zu nehmen, ehe er examiniret worden und sich selbst rechtmässig befreyen konte. Weiters ist er nun darauf aus, diejenigen gerichtlich zu verfolgen, welche ihn so boshafftig verleumdet und einen Proceſs verursachet haben, der nach untersuchung gantz ohne grund gefunden worden.

*Preiſs folgender Güter.* Weitzen 2 sch 7 p. Fein Mehl, 7 sch. 9 p. Mittel brod 12 sch. gemengt 10 sch. braun, 9 sch. Rum, 2 sch. 4 p. Mellasses 16 p.

## ADVERTISSEMENT

*ES wird hiemit bekandt gemacht, dass* Hendrick van Bebber, *welcher viele Jahre her als* Doctor Medicinæ *mit gutem succeſs practiciret hat, sich hier zur wohn niedergesetzet: Es sind bey ihm die beste und sicherste Chymische Artzneyen zu bekommen die er selbsten verfertiget, unter andern das vortreffliche so genannte* Englische Saltz, *oder* Sal mirabile, *welches eine vor jederman dienliche purgation und auch ein bewährtes mittel ist vor Fieber und Waſſersucht. Wer seiner bedarff, kan sich an ihn adressiren in* Lætitia Court, *alwo er wohnhafft ist mit* Arent Hassert, *Knaffmann in Philadelphia.*

*PHILADELPHIA:* Gedruckt bey *B. Francklin* in der Marck-strasse, wo diese Zeitungen vor 5 Shillinge des Jahrs zu bekommen, und Advertissemente zu bestellen sind.

ORIGINAL IN THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

brought about by an order transferring the Prior to the Convent Zion, as elder, in place of his brother Elimelich—a proceeding which aroused the ire of both men.

One of the first orders issued by the new elder was one commanding all the solitary again to receive the tonsure. Brother Onesimus made the beginning, after which every brother kneeled before him and had a small round spot upon his crown shorn, and as he arose was received with hand and kiss. During the observance of this ceremony Brothers Jaebez and Timotheus read aloud from the Book of Institution and Rules, the maledictions which would overtake any such as proved false to their profession.

It was upon the third day of the sixth month (August 3, 1745) that the enmity against the Prior assumed an open form. The Sabbath services were opened by him in the Zion Convent, when he was interrupted by his brother Jotham and contradicted by Jethro and Nehemia, ostensibly on account of his long sermons. On the following night Jaebez assembled ten or twelve brethren in the Saal and took counsel regarding Onesimus. This meeting lasted well into daybreak, and it was decided to depose the Prior. This was on the seventh day of the sixth month. After this was done Jotham was elected as his successor, as a matter of form. He was seated upon the dais as elder, with brothers Jabez and Jethro as his assistants. Thus Jotham succeeded Onesimus, and it is plain that he also was in the conspiracy to overthrow his brother, and thus cast him into misery.

A general call was at once issued for a reformation meeting, as it was called, at which Beissel denounced Onesimus as a person who had relapsed into the spirit of the world, and said that all his adherents would be under the same ban.

Upon the same day, August 8th, another solemn *auto-da-fé* was instituted in the meadow. High arose the flames

from the heap of burning brushwood, fed as they were by willing hands. The Solitary Brethren stood in a circle around the fire, a pile of printed matter lay within the circle as the flames mounted higher, and a bed of glowing embers covered the ground. The books were thrown into the embers and stirred by the brethren until they were entirely consumed. They were copies of the English polemic of Onesimus against the Moravians. Not a single one was known to escape. The value of the sheets burned amounted to over £50 sterling.

Three days later, the Sisterhood of Saron, under the instigation of Beissel, repeated the ceremony, upon which occasion Onesimus' two German broadsides, *Der Wandel eines Einsamen; Die Richtschnur und Regel eines Streiter Jesu Christi*, together with his *Seule gegen die Böse Rott* (a Pillar against the Moravians) and his hymns were consigned to the flames. A single one of each of these broadsides escaped the cremation and are now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Upon the sixth day the brethren of the secular congregation were ordered to bring all writings and mementos of Onesimus into the Saal. These were gathered and then committed to the flames. Thus ended the writings of Onesimus.

On the fourth day of (September) the seventh month Onesimus, Jephune and Timotheus left the Zion on the Cocalico, started southwestward, journeyed about four hundred miles, and settled on the New River in Virginia.

There is no record of the circumstances of this exodus. That the deposed Prior did not go willingly is shown by the entry that Onesimus begged to remain, if only to go out in the woods with a chopping axe as a common brother; but all was denied him, even a habitation and seat at the table.

Three weeks later, the twentieth day of the ninth month,

at a love-feast, angry words passed between Beissel and Prior Jotham, on account of the latter being half an hour late. On the next day he was deposed from his office and Jethro was named in his place. He now lived in his cell in Kedar as a common brother.

Elimelich, who still held the office of the priesthood, was deposed on the fifteenth day of the tenth month from both Solitary and Secular Congregation. The house fathers joining with Beissel. The deposed mystic now took up his home in the deserted Berghaus, where he was joined on the 23d by Jotham, who was ordered out of Kedar. Thus ended the rule and influence of the Eckerlins at Ephrata, after a reign of about seven years.

A few days later the convent laundry (*wasch-haus*), built by the Eckerlins, was dismantled and burned. On the 27th, some hours before break of day, Elimelech left Ephrata and again took up a hermit's life about a mile above Zoar (Reamstown).

The account of this episode, as revised by Agrippa and published in the *Chronicon*, differs slightly in some of the minor particulars. The record states that after his return from New England the Prior, as master of the Zionitic Brotherhood, attempted, by a series of intrigues, to supersede Beissel and usurp the office of general *Vorsteher* or Superintendent. Knowledge of these doings so affected Beissel that he, in the Prior's presence, actually entreated the house fathers to relieve him of his office. This, much to his surprise and chagrin, was done, and Onesimus was forthwith installed as his successor. Conrad Beissel, now bereft of all authority, was relegated to one of the small cabins, and virtually became a prisoner in the settlement.

This condition continued for about nine months, and was a period of scheming and intrigue by both parties. Beissel, who soon became restless in his enforced retirement, lost no opportunity by scheming to regain his lost prestige.

This culminated when, with the aid of a few of the brethren, he attempted to oust Onesimus and regain control of the settlement. For this purpose he issued a unique warrant:

"To Brother Jabez and Brother Jotham: Be valiant, and do what you have to do, and leave nothing undone which might prove a hindrance to bringing the matter to its proper end, I, for my part, am strongly engaged in my mind before God, that this is the right way. May God give to all of us life, and the enjoyment of him in the world to come.

"Friedsam, a Nonentity."

This he placed in the hands of Jaebez and Jotham for execution. It resulted in a graud conflict, which lasted for three weeks, and ended in the overthrow of Onesimus and the Eckerlin influence.

Agrippa continues:

"Meanwhile the Brethren began to awaken and to comprehend that the day of their liberation was at hand. They entered into fellowship with those two Brethren; all of which came from God, for in a short time they had the whole Brotherhood on their side. When it was rumored that the Prior had rebelled against the Superintendent, the Brethren began to revile everything he had done when in office. It has already been mentioned that a writing had been published in the English language in the Settlement; this was burnt, because it had been printed by his order without general consent. There were also condemned to the flames a title and preface which he had written for the Superintendent's printed Theosophic Epistles; for both were offensive, because he had extolled the Superintendent without measure in the title, and had rashly said in the preface that most mystical books were not worth more than to be burnt afterwards; however, another title and preface were substituted. The Sisters followed this example and burnt all hymns and writings they had which were composed by him, among which two writings especially are to be named, one, 'The Life of a Solitary,' and the other, 'Rules and Precepts of a Soldier of Jesus

Christ.' The Brethren likewise collected everything that originated with him, and delivered it to a Brother to have it burnt.

This was a heart-thrust to the Prior, and now it became evident that he had his greatness only through the fellowship of the Brethren, so that when he lost this, he felt so forsaken that he was seized with sickness. * * * * At last, when the Prior became aware that the loss of his office and his priestly dignity was in store for him, deep repentance took hold of him and he wept Esau's tears for a thing which he had once possessed in his own person, and which to all eternity could not be his again. Nevertheless, he took forty pounds out of the Brethren's treasury, and with it tried to bribe the Mother of the Sisters to intercede for him with the Superintendent. But the Sisters did not agree about this money. The most of them declared it would bring some misfortune, and should not be accepted. But the Mother took it. Her intercession, however, was of no avail. A Brother of Zion did the same; but everything was in vain. The Prior would have done better had he laid down his office forever, because he only administered it in selfishness; it could only aggravate his fate. When he saw that the Superintendent was firm against entreaties, he made an attempt with the Brethren. He appeared before them, reduced by deep grief to be more like an incorporeal spirit than a human being. They were just assembled in writing-school. He said: 'I beg of you for God's sake, Brethren, receive me again, for I cannot be separated from you in time and eternity.' But no one had an answer for him, for every one understood that he wished to regain his office. But in order to satisfy his entreaties, they held a council in the presence of the Superintendent, in which it was agreed that he should leave the settlement for a time and manage the business in the fulling-mill. * * * When this resolution was communicated to him, he by no means objected, but promised to move next day into the fulling-mill. * * * But when his eldest brother, to whose advice he had always paid more obedience than to that of his faithful spiritual Father, came home and heard the resolve of his brother, he said to him: 'It is time again to turn to a hermit's life;' that he should escape

with him into the desert, and leave misfortune to the Brethren; they would not carry on matters for any length of time, for they had not intelligence enough to conduct a household. This proposition pleased the Prior, therefore he left the settlement on the following day, September 4, 1745, with his above-mentioned brother Jephune, and another, Timotheus by name, and moved towards the wilderness, after having administered the office of Prior among the Brethren for not much longer than four years. They fled about 400 English miles, towards the setting of the sun, * * * until, beyond all Christian governments, they had reached a stream which runs towards the Mississippi, New River by name. Here they settled in the midst of a pack of nothing but ragmuffins, the dregs of human society, who spent their time in murdering wild beasts."

The expulsion or withdrawal of the Eckerlins from the Kloster created quite a commotion within and without the community. All kinds of reports were current among the German Sectarians throughout the Province. Christopher Sauer, according to the *Chronicon*, "about this time, urged by a hidden authority, proclaimed in the paper that any who had contributed anything to Ephrata should make application for it at that place and it would be restored." This added fuel to the flames, and the wildest rumors were current. This induced the Germantown printer to publish the following announcement in his paper:

"To rid ourselves of the manifold inquiries about the Brotherhood at Ephrata this much can be briefly said: Five fathers and brothers, and not seventy, went out from the Kloster, not unto Bethlehem, but four hundred miles into Virginia, where, on the New River, they will lead a solitary life, each in his cabin according to his exigency, nevermore to rule over souls. According to their own statement they left not in anger, but parted in love. The change was brought about by their having ordered a bell without consulting the fathers and then wanting to build a steeple on the new proposed convent.

Of late some bye-matters gradually increased to such an ex-

tent that in a short time the ringing and clinking, tinkling, clanking and dangling at Zion, Ephrata, Kedar, Peniel and Saron would have equaled Rome, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and Babylon. The Kloster has not been sold. Those remaining will correct all shortcomings. No one shall be forced to remain. What they have brought, on demand shall be given them. They were accused of being merchants and trades-people; therefore they will buy neither wheat nor flaxseed to sell again, and their cows and oxen, horses and wagons, clock and bell have all been disposed of. The saw mill was overrun; so was the paper mill; and upon this account, for a time, they will receive no more logs to saw, nor rags.

"In the future the brethren will be more careful to first consult the father, as all human society must depend upon its fountain head. Otherwise it will not succeed."

Let us now break off for a short time from our narrative of the four Alsatians, leaving two still in the vicinity of Ephrata, while the two others, together with the son of the Dunker patriarch, are preparing the site for a new settlement in what was known as the dark and bloody ground of Virginia. Their romantic history and tragic ending will form a separate chapter.




# CHAPTER X.

## THE EPHRATA PRESS.


Deutſches Buchdruckerwappen.

GREATER and far more important than the mystical theosophy of the Cloister, and the varied industries which developed the resources of the monastic settlement on the Cocalico, are the issues of the Ephrata press, locally known as the *Kloster Presse* or *Die Presse der Brüderschafft* (Cloister Press, Press of the Brotherhood).

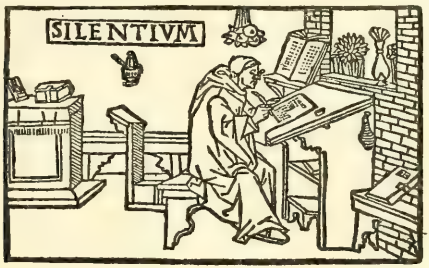
Erected here in the wilds of Pennsylvania, it was the first one upon which both English and German type were used. By referring to a previous chapter it will be seen that Sauer's early attempts to print with English type proved abortive, and it was not until 1749 that an English work was issued from his press at Germantown. Further, it was not until the year 1747 that Franklin issued an imprint in German type.

That the printing office at Ephrata was supplied with fonts of both English and German type is shown by the statement in the *Chronicon*, wherein it tells us that Israel

Eckerlin printed a polemic in English against the Moravians. This was in the year 1745, if not still earlier.

Just when the Ephrata press was first set up and from whom the outfit was obtained, has thus far remained an impenetrable mystery, owing to the total absence of any extended documentary evidence.

According to Acrelius, who visited the Cloister in the fall of 1753, the printing office was then furnished with new type, fair and clear, which, he states, was brought from Frankfort-on-Mayn. Evidently this type also came from the establishment of Dr. Ehrenfried Luther, the benefactor of




An Old Kloster Cartoon.

Christopher Sauer. According to another account a press, type and a quantity of books were sent out from Germany and intrusted to the management of Jacob Gass, and the Community was to have the use of and the profits arising from the press. This was upon the sole condition that they were to distribute a certain number of copies of each of the religious books which they should print among the poor Germans in the Province.[106] The *Chronicon*, for some reason, is silent upon the subject whence the outfit was

[106] From the specimen book of German type in the Pennypacker collection it would be inferred that the type came from Nürnberg. But whether directly or indirectly is an unanswerable question.

obtained. Certain it is that it was procured from Europe, as correspondence was regularly maintained with the Separatist leaders in the Fatherland and England. There are even traditions that goods were exported from Ephrata to Europe. Further, it is known that during the Eckerlin régime careful accounts were kept, all of which are supposed to have been destroyed or carried off when the Eckerlins were driven out of the settlement.

Little did the leaders of the Ephrata Brotherhood think, when they were publishing their books, that the issues of their press, in the course of time, would become not only valuable and sought after, but would be classed among the rarest and most peculiar of unique American imprints, and that large sums would be paid for specimens of their handiwork, to be carefully guarded and exhibited in glass cases in the leading libraries of the world.

It is generally assumed that the installation of this printing office on the Cocalico was evidently a direct outcome of the quarrel between Beissel and Christopher Sauer, an account of which was given in our chapter on the *Weyrauchs Hügel.* Be this as it may, the Ephrata Brethren laid their plans well, and doubtless intended to go into the printing business upon an extensive scale, as they made their own paper, oil and ink, and had a fully equipped bindery. Thus their printing establishment was a complete economy, in the German sense of the word.

Without doubt the Eckerlins were the chief factors in setting up this press at Ephrata. Further, the printing plant must have been an extensive one, well equipped from the start. So far as can be gleaned from the fragmentary notices that have come down to us they must have commenced with two presses, a large and a small one. The latter was soon after disposed of to the Moravians, a transaction which, it appears, is noted in the Bethlehem Diaries. This was replaced by a larger one. One of these historic

presses is now in the museum of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The other, early in the nineteenth century, found its way down to the Snowhill institution, where it did duty until a few years ago, when it was taken to Bedford county. Here it still serves to print the weekly paper of the Sabbatarians of Morrison's Cove.[107]

Let us now take a look at the old press as it stands in the museum of the Historical Society at Philadelphia, a fitting resting-place for the old relic, upon which was performed such yeoman's service during the Colonial period and from which issued so large an amount of religious literature prior to the Revolution. It is in much the same condition as when it stood in the Kloster, the only material change being a substitution of an Oram lever in place of the primitive screw after it was removed from Ephrata.

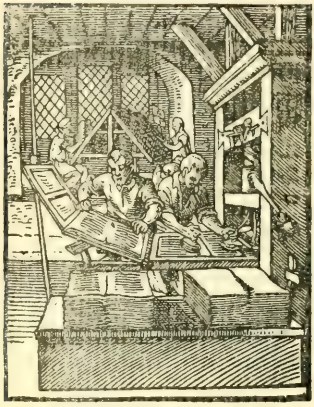
Here we have the same lever, or devil's tail, that was pulled by the recluse mystics, the identical stone bed upon which they imposed the forms, the same old rounce, of which the disgruntled Ezekiel speaks, by which he brought the type under the platen. Silent now the old press stands before us, superseded by modern inventions which print more sheets in a couple of hours than could be worked off upon this old pioneer press in a year. Yet to the historian and antiquarian the old relic is of greater interest than the latest modern cylinder press.

The old Ephrata press came into possession of the Historical Society, May 13, 1872, under the bequest of I. Martin Heitler, who, it appears, obtained it after the Baumans ceased printing at Ephrata.

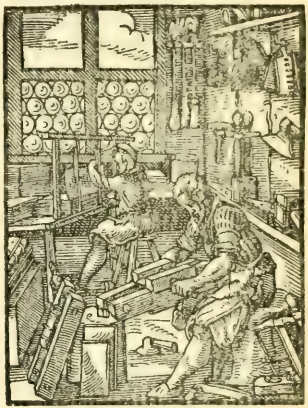
The presentation of the old press to the Historical Society was made the occasion of considerable ceremony. Samuel

[107] Morrison's Cove, a valley in Bedford and Huntingdon counties, between Tussey's mountain on the east and Dunning's and Lock mountains on the west. It extends down to the Frankstown branch of the Juniata river.

Nessly, of Lancaster, executor of the donor, read the item from the will: "I give my printing press, known as the old Ephrata printing press, to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; if not accepted by them, to any similar institution in the City or County of Lancaster in the discretion of my Executor."



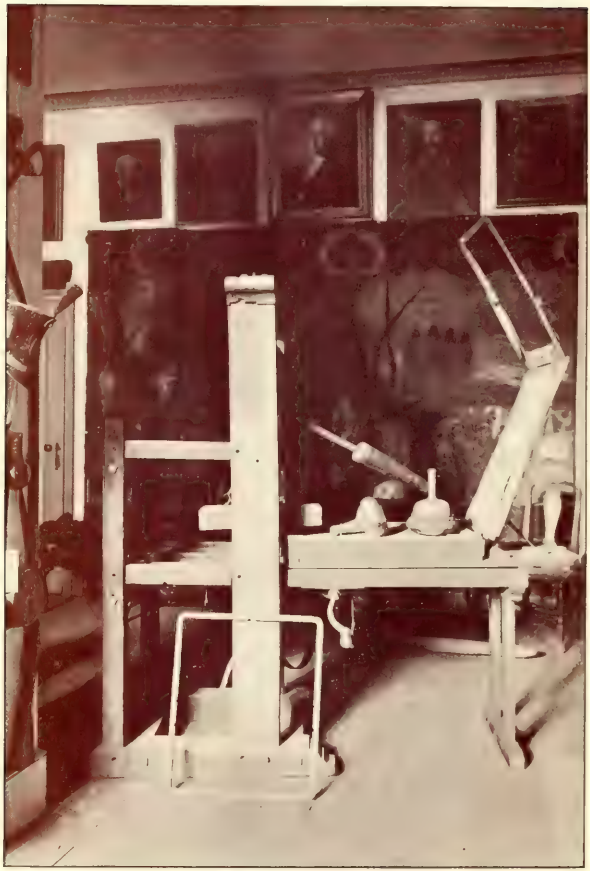
Jch bin geſchicket mit der preß
So ich aufftrag den Firniß reß/
So bald mein dienr den bengel zucket/
So iſt ein bogn pappyre gedrucket.
Da durch kombt manche Kunſt an tag/
Die man leichtlich bekommen mag.
Vor zeiten hat man die bücher gſchriben/
Zu Meintz die Kunſt ward erſtlich trieben.



Jch bind allerley Bücher ein/
Geiſtlich vnd Weltlich/groß vnd klein/
In Perment oder Bretter nur
Vnd beſchlags mit guter Clauſur
Vnd Spangen/vnd ſtempff ſie zur zier/
Jch ſie auch im anfang planier/
Etlich vergüld ich auff dem ſchnitt/
Da verdien ich viel geldes mit.

CARTOONS ILLUSTRATING THE PRINTING AND BOOKBINDER INDUSTRIES. FOUND AMONG SOME OLD EPHRATA PAPERS.

After the formality was over Hon. J. K. Chandler received it on behalf of the Society, in which he eulogized the old press as one of the great historical treasures of Pennsyl-



ONE OF THE EPHRATA PRINTING PRESSES.

IN COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA. PHOTO. BY J. F. SACHSE.

vania. The old press is what is known as a "Blaeu" press, from a Dutch artisan Willem Jansen Blaeu, of Amsterdam, who was the first to improve the original Guttenberg press, and, with the exception above noted, is in the same condition as when it arrived from Germany. The dimensions are as follows: total height, 6 ft. 2¼ in.; size of standards, 4¾ x 7; height, 5 ft. 10½ in.; space between standards, 20¾ in.; length of track, 5 ft. 2½ in.; size of stone in bed, 19¾x26⅛ in.; bed, 24 x 30 in.; tympan, 30 x 23½ in.; frisket, 25½x 20¾ in.; platen, 11½ x 19¼ in.; chase, inside measurement, 23⅞ x 19⅝. The track consists of two iron bars an inch square.

The press operates on the screw principle, the horizontal sweep of the handle rotating the screw which passes through a nut in the cross-beam above, raising and lowering the platen, the centre of whose upper surface has a cup which rests against the lower end of the screw-head, the four corners of the platen being fastened by thongs to the screw-head, so as to give it a certain independence of adjustment, to enable it to fit against the face of the form, that is, to become parallel therewith. The form rests upon the bed, and is secured by temper screws. The bed runs in and out on a track, and is moved back and forth under the platen by a belt which winds around a drum operated by the hand-crank and the rounce. It will be observed that the platen is here only large enough to cover one-half of the bed; consequently, in printing a sheet, it was necessary to screw down the platen on each page, running the bed forward or backward between the pulls.

As to the exact date when the Ephrata press was procured by the Brotherhood, it is merely a surmise. The earliest known Ephrata imprint bears the legend 1745, but there can be but little doubt that the press was set up at a much earlier date. The *Chronicon*, after discussing the events of 1742, continues: "Soon after a printing press was

put up in the settlement."[108] When this is taken together with the advertisements in Sauer's newspaper of November, 1743, showing that a bindery was at that time in full operation in the Cloister, it certainly offers a strong inference that printing was done there also.

One of the earliest, if not the first issue of the Ephrata press was a small broadside, 14½ x 6½ inches. This was intended as a talisman or protection against the inroads of the Moravians. It was set up in bold type in the shape of a pillar with base and capital, having a foundation or support formed of two verses from Holy Writ. (I John, 2 : 18, 19.)

This was known as *Eine Säule gegen den Bösen Rott* (a pillar of defence against the wicked rabble). A fac-simile of this unique relic is shown upon page 229, the original of which is in the collection of the writer.

[Translation.—The victory is from high heaven; it is One strong and mighty who wages the war; breaks the teeth of the wicked rabble that mock His testimony, so that no more be deceived, upon the villainous path of liberty, where everyone doeth as he can the old human things, dressed up as a new tale, coming down from high heaven. Yet we can but laugh when their whole structure shall collapse with all its deceit and sham, as all was naught but a show that Lucifer, with his sinful horde, selected for his pleasure.]

This broadside was distributed among the various households, to be prominently displayed in the living-room of the family, similar to the well-known *Haus-Segen*, an invocation of God's blessing upon home and family, still to be seen upon the walls of the homes of many Pennsylvania-German families.

We then have two large placards, usually called the Eckerlin broadsides. The titles were as follows:

[108] Original edition, p. 199. Translation, p. 152.

Der Sieg iſt hoch vom Himmel her, ein ſtar-
cker und Allmächtiger iſts, der die Krie-
ge führet: Zerbricht die Zähn der
böſen Rott, die ſeiner Te-
ſtamenten ſpott, damit
nicht mehr verführet. Auf
der verruchten Freyheits-
Bahn, da jeder thut, wie er
nur kann, des alten Men-
ſchen Sachen ausſchmü-
cken, wie eine neue Mähr,
ſo kömet hoch vom Himmel
her, doch wird man ihr nur
lachen. Wann ihr gebäu
wird fallen ein, ſamt ih-
rem falſchē Trug u. Schein
ſo anders nichts geweſen, als
ein gepräng, ſo Lucifer mit ſeinem
gantzen Sünden-Heer zu ſeiner Luſt erleſen.

1 Epiſt. Joh. c. 2, 18. 19.
Stunde: und wie ihr ge-
hört, daß der Anti-
Chriſt kommt, ſo ſind nun viel Anti-
Chriſten worden; daher
erkennen wir, daß die letz-
te Stunde iſt. Sie ſind
von uns ausgegangen,
aber ſie waren nicht von
uns; denn wo ſie von
uns geweſen wären, ſo
wären ſie ja bey uns blie-
ben; aber auf daß ſie of-
fenbaret würden, daß ſie
nicht alle von uns ſind.
1 Epiſt. Joh. c. 2, 18. 19.

Kinder, es iſt die letzte
Stunde: und wie ihr ge-
hört habt, daß der Anti-
Chriſt kommt, ſo ſind nun viel Anti-
Chriſten worden; daher
erkennen wir, daß die letz-
te Stunde iſt. Sie ſind
von uns ausgegangen,
aber ſie waren nicht von
uns; denn wo ſie von
uns geweſen wären, ſo
wären ſie ja bey uns blie-
ben; aber auf daß ſie of-
fenbaret würden, daß ſie
nicht alle von uns ſind.
1 Epiſt. Joh. c. 2, 18. 19.

ZIONITIC PILLAR AGAINST THE MORAVIANS.

One of the earliest issues of the Ephrata press. Original in possession of the writer.

# Haus-Segen.

In den drey allerhochſten Namen,
Vater, Sohn und Heil'ger Geiſt,
Die das Chor der Engel preißt,
Geſundheit, Ruh' und Segen, amen

Gott des Vaters Schopfers Hand
Segne dieſes Haus und Länd,
Daß das Fütter und die Saaten
Immer mögen wohlgerathen;
Daß der Viehſtand wohl gedeyhe
Und ſich ſeines Segens freye;
Daß ſeine väterliche Güte
Haus und Hof und Stall und Scheuer
Für Unglück und beſonders Feuer
Immer gnädiglich behüte.

Auch geb er, daß auf jeder Wange
Die edele Geſundheit prange
Und zur Vollendung unſ'rer Werke
Geb' er den Gliedern Kraft und Stärke.
Er wende von uns in Gnaden
Hagels- und Gewitter-Schaden.
Auch wolle er die zarten Blüthen
Für Später Kält' und Froſt behüten

Mögen des Erdſers Werke
Ihre Kraft und ihre Stärke
Stets an dieſem Haus beweiſen;
Daß jedes darinn nach Tugend ſtrebe
Und friedlich mit dem andern lebe
Und guten Wandels ſich befleiße;
Daß Schand' und Laſter insgemein
Entfernt von dieſem Hauße ſeyn.

Der Heil'ge Geiſt kehr hier auch ein
Und laß' es ſeine Wohnung ſeyn,
Heil'ge unſer Thun und Laßen,
Aus- und Eingang gleichermaßen;
Heil'ge uns zum ſel gen Sterben
Und mach' uns zu Himmels-Erben.

A Pennsylvania-German Family Benison.

*Vide* page 228.

*Die Richtschnur und Regel | eines Streiters Jesu Christi, | welcher in die ewige Schätze | der Weissheit verlibet ist.*

[Translation.—The Precepts and Rules of the Warrior of Jesus Christ who is enamoured of the everlasting Treasures of Wisdom.]

*Ein sehr geistreicher Spiegel, als worinnen dass rechte Bild | des einsamen Lebens erscheinet, und was eigentlich desselben Beschaffenheit | Seye, wann es seine rechtmässige Sache darstellet und ans Licht gibt.*

[Translation.—A veritable spiritual mirror, wherein the true picture of the solitary life appears, and of what its constitution really consists when it portrays its legitimate matter and brings it into the light.]

The whole edition of these two broadsides was ordered by Beissel to be publicly burned during the Eckerlin controversy.

A single specimen of both of the above, however, it appears, escaped the general cremation. A copy of *The Precepts and Rules of a Warrior of Jesus Christ* was found a few years ago between the leaves of an old German Bible, where it had remained undisturbed for almost a century and a half. It was as clean and fresh as when printed, the type matter measuring 18¼x10⅜ inches. It is now in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The history of our copy of the second broadside, noted in the *Chronicon* as *The Life of a Solitary*, is a more romantic one, as it experienced many vicissitudes. According to a well-founded tradition it was saved by Onesimus at the time of his expulsion and taken by him to Virginia, whence it found its way to the settlement on the Bermudian, and later to the Antietam congregation, in whose possession it has remained up to the present time. The old broadside, 22x15¼ inches, printed on two pieces of paper, was carefully pasted on a panel and hung upon the walls of the Saal, back of the preacher's bench. It is now


EPHRATA. Anno. MDCCXLV.

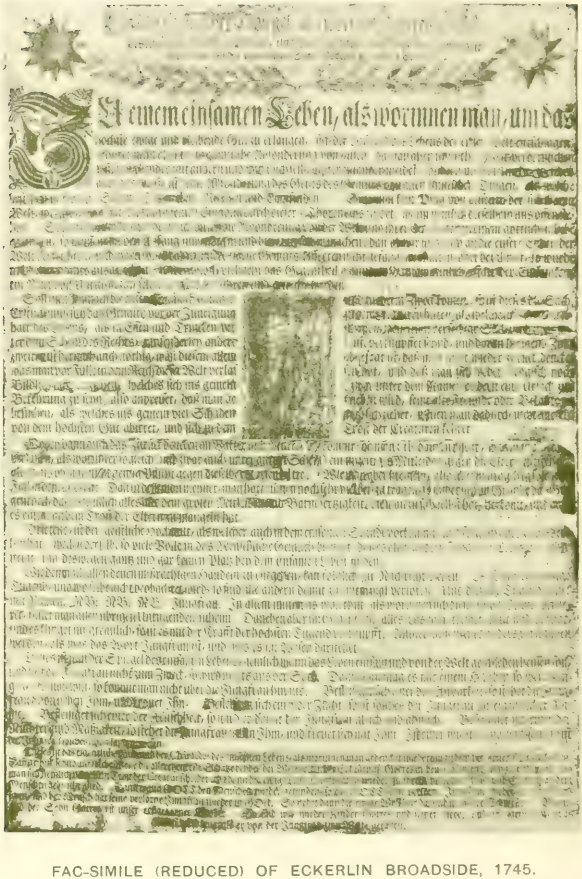
Die Richtschnur und Regel eines Streiters Jesu Christi, welcher in die ewige Schätze der Weißheit verliebet ist.

Als worinnen auf dem Weg der Göttlichen Reinheit die vortreffliche Tugenden der Neuschheit/ Niedrigkeit und Demuth gefunden werden.

JESUS der Sohn Davids/ aus dem Samen Abrahams nach dem Fleisch, welcher von einer Jungfrau in diese Welt gebohren worden durch die Ueberschattung des Heiligen Geistes, weil Er von GOtt dem

HEADING OF ECKERLIN BROADSIDE.

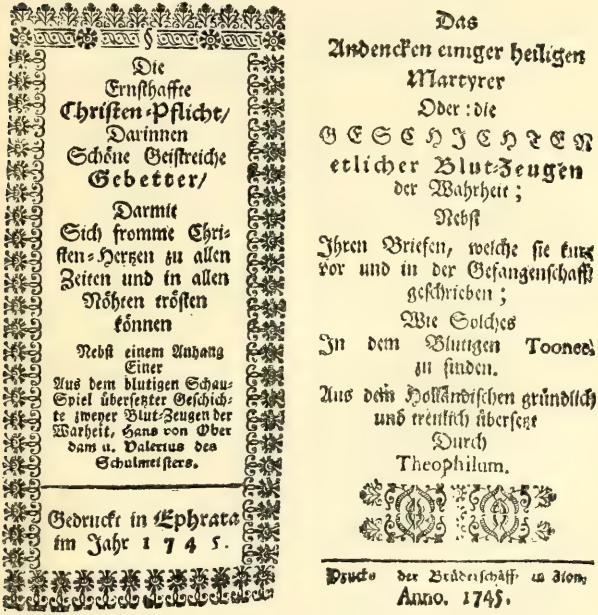
Only known copy in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



FAC-SIMILE (REDUCED) OF ECKERLIN BROADSIDE, 1745.

so discolored by dirt, flies and age as to be almost illegible. A fac-simile of this unique broadside is shown upon the opposite page. The large initial was evidently done by hand, as were the illuminated stars and garlands at the head.

A careful survey of all the evidence available seems to indicate that, with the possible exception of the Eckerlin



Die
Ernsthaffte
**Christen-Pflicht/**
Darinnen
Schöne Geistreiche
**Gebetter/**
Darmit
Sich fromme Christen-Hertzen zu allen
Zeiten und in allen
Nöhten trösten
können
Nebst einem Anhang
Einer
Aus dem blutigen Schau-Spiel übersetzter Geschichte zweyer Blut-Zeugen der Warheit, Hans von Ober dam u. Valerius des Schulmeisters.

Gedruckt in Ephrata
im Jahr 1745.

Das
**Andencken einiger heiligen Martyrer**
Oder: die
GESCHICHTEN
**etlicher Blut-Zeugen**
der Wahrheit;
Nebst
Ihren Briefen, welche sie kurtz vor und in der Gefangenschafft geschrieben;
Wie Solches
In dem Blutigen Tooneel zu finden.
Aus dem Holländischen gründlich und treulich übersetzt
Durch
Theophilum.

Druckts der Brüderschafft zu Zion,
Anno. 1745.

DEVOTIONAL BOOKS PRINTED AT EPHRATA IN THE INTEREST OF THE MENNONITES.

broadsides, and a few minor ones in both German and English, which were aimed against the Moravians, the first regular issue of the Brotherhood press appears to have been a

Mennonite devotional book. This was printed in twenty-fours (small 24mo.) of 116 pages.

*Die | Ernsthaffte | Christen-Pflicht, | Darinnen | Schöne Geistreiche | Gebetter, | Darmit | Sich fromme Chri- | sten Hertzen zu allen | Zeiten und in allen | Nöhten trösten | können | Nebst einem Anhang | Einer | Aus dem blutigen Schau- | Spiel übersetzter Geschich- | te zweyer Blut-Zeugen der | Warheit, Hans von Ober | dam u. Valerius des | Schulmeisters. | Gedruckt in Ephrata | im Jahr 1745.*

The next regular issue of the Ephrata press was another small 24mo. for the same religionists.

*Das | Andencken einiger heiligen | Martyrer | Oder: die | Geschichten | etlicher Blut-Zeugen | der Wahrheit; | * * * * Aus dem Holländischen gründlich | und treulich übersetzt | Durch | Theophilum. | Druck der Brüderschafft in Zion | Anno. 1745.*

The translation was the work of Brother Theophilus (Alexander Mack, Jr.), and shows us the interest and active part taken by the son of the patriarch of the Dunkers in the establishment of the Ephrata press and its development, an inclination which was further manifested in after years by his interest in the Sauer press, when he was a bishop of the Dunker Church, and his efforts in the establishment of type founding at Germantown.

This work was evidently translated into High German and published in the interest of the Mennonites, or for the purpose of conciliating them, and drawing those religionists, who were becoming quite numerous in Lancaster county, closer toward the fold of the secular Sabbatarian congregation.

That the impression of the Brethren regarding the Mennonites proved a correct one is shown by the fact that ere the year (1745) was past a number of influential Mennonites had printed upon the Brotherhood press an edition of their devotional book, known as *Golden Apples in Silver*

*Shells; or, Beautiful and Useful Words and Truths to Godliness.* This book, a sextodecimo of 519 pages, is divided into seven parts, and is supplied with no less than six subtitles.

Güldene

# Aepffel

In

# Silbern Schalen

Oder:
Schöne und nützliche
WORTE und WARHEITEN
Zur Gottseligkeit.

Enthalten
In Sieben Haupt-Theilen/
die in diesem Buch zusammen gestellet sind;
Mit sonderbarem Fleiß von denen in der vorigen
Edition häufig eingeschlichenen
Druckfehlern gereiniget.

Nebst angehängten Vorreden/
und einem zweyfachen Register.

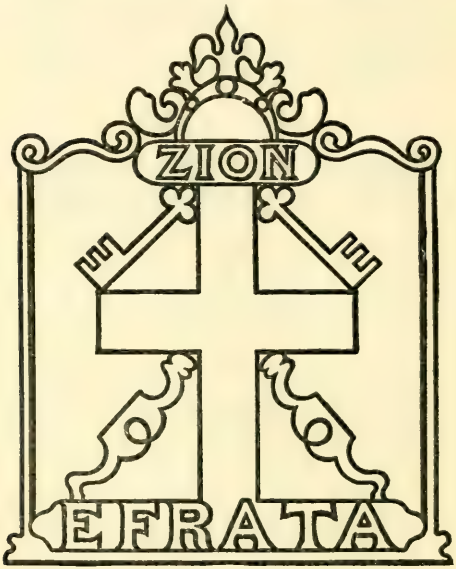
EFRATA, Im Jahr des Heils, 1745.
Verlegt durch etliche Mitglieder der Mennonisten-gemeine.

TITLE-PAGE OF MENNONITE PRAYER BOOK.

*Güldene | Aepffel | In | Silbern Schalen | Oder: | Schöne und nützliche | Worte und Warheiten | Zur Gott-*

*seligkeit.* | * * * * | *Efrata, Im Jahr des Heils, 1745.* | *Verlegt durch etliche Mitglieder der Mennonisten-gemeine.*

So satisfactory were the dealings between the Brotherhood and the Mennonites that they resulted in the translation and printing of the great Martyr Book, a full account of which will appear in its chronological order.




WATER-MARK OF THE ZIONITIC BROTHERHOOD PRIOR TO 1745.

Among the remarkable issues of the Kloster press for the year 1745 was the printing of Beissel's *Wunderschrifft*, or the original German version of his "Dissertation on Man's Fall."[109]

[109] *Vide* Vol. I, pp. 419-421.

Michael Sattler

# Send-Brieff

An eine

GEMEINDE GOTTES;

Samt

Warnung und wahrhafftigen

ANZEIGEN:

Wie er seine lehr,

In Rotenburg/ am Neckar,

mit seinem Blut bezeuget hat.

Anno 1527.



Zum dritten mal gedruckt,

Im Jahr 1745.

CONFESSIO PULCHRA

Oder; schöne

# Bekantnüß

Eines frommen und GOtt-liebenden Christen;

Samt etlichen

Send-Brieffen und Christlichen Ermahnungen

aus Heiliger Schrifft;

Seiner Hausfrauen und Brüderin

aus dem Gefängnüß geschrieben.

Mit

Warhafftig und wahrhaftigen Anzeigungen

Wie er seinen Glauben, durch Krafft GOttes

(zu Cöln, am Rhein,) Anno 1558.

bey seinem Marter, beständig mit seinem

Blut bezeuget hat.

Allen Christen und GOttesfürchtigen

sehr nützlich und nöthig zu lesen, und zu thun.

Esa. LIX.

Die Warheit ist hinweg genommen/

und welcher sich vom Bösen ab-

gewicht/ der muß berauber werden.

Neu auffgelegt Anno 1745.

Ein

# Testament

Von

Einer frommen

LIEBHABERIN GOTTES/

Gemacht durch Sorgen von den Kin-

der/ oder Susanna von Holy genannt/

und ihren Kindern zur Gedächtnüß

und Lehr auff dem Gefängnüß

vor ihrem Abscheid

zugeschrieben;

Darinnen sie selbe Mütterlich und

Herzlich zur reiner Furcht GOttes und Frömm-

keit ermahnet, und also ihren Kindern solches

für das beste und höchste Gut hinter-

lassen;

Auch darzu

Die Warheit GOttes/ den 27. November

Anno 1560. zu Gent in Flandern, mit

ihrem Blut bezeuget hat.



Jetzt neu Gedruckt im Jahr 1745

Marthen Lorens

Von Rotterneen/

Elff auserlesene

# Send-Brieffe,

Welche

Vornand in seinem Gefängnüß

an seine Verwandten nach dem Geist und Fleisch

geschrieben, und die darinnen enthaltene Wohl-

lehre endlich mit seinem Blut besiegelt hat;

Wie auch

KONRAD KOCHS

Von Lexenburg

Zwey Bluttzeugnus der Zeugnüß Christi,

Zwey andere Briefe/

Samt einer schönen Schluß-Rede,

Welche

Worinn diese Märtyrs-Gesellschaft zur Ehre GOttes und

des Nächsten Heil auch sein Glaubens und auffge-

legt worden

Im Jahr Christi 1745.

Hebr. 13. 7.

Gedencket an eure Vorgänger, die euch das

Wort Gottes gesagt haben, welchen Ende

thuret an und folget ihrem Glauben.

Christlich

# Glaubens

# Bekantnüß,

Der friedliebenden und sämmtlich

(unter dem Namen der Mennisten)

wolberuffen

# Christen

Wie auch

Etliche Christliche Gebeth derselben

Glaubens-Bekenner.

Gedruckt im Jahr 1745

Etliche

# Christliche

# Gebethe,

Welche

Die versammlete Glaubigen/ oder ein

jeder absonderlich/ nach Gelegenheit

der Zeit und der Sachen Nothwendig-

keit (für GOtt) mit Andacht und

gebeugten Knien des Her-

zens gebrauchen mö-

gen.



Gedruckt im Jahr 1745.

THE SIX SUB-TITLES OF THE MENNONITE PRAYER BOOK.

*Mystische Abhandlnng | über die | Schöpfung | und von des | Menschen Fall nnd Wiederbringung | durch des | Weibes Samen | von einem | Friedsamen | Nach der stillen Ewigkeit wallenden | Pilger | Ephrata: Typis Societatis, Anno MDCCXLV. Quarto pp. 48.*[110]

The next important issue was Beissel's great effort, usually known as *Die Hohe Zeugüsse* (The High Testimonies.) This work, issued by the Zionitic Brotherhood, was printed prior to the expulsion of the Eckerlins, and is further interesting, as upon many of the sheets appears the peculiar watermark of the Zionitic Brotherhood.

*Zionitischen Stiffts 1. Theil. | Oder eine | Wolreichende Narde, | Die nach einer langen Nacht in der herrlichen Morgen-Röthe ist auf gegan- | gen auf dein Gefielde Libanons, und hat unter den Kindern der | Weissheit einen Balsamischen Geruch von sich gegeben. | Des von Gott hoch begnadigten und beadelten fürtrefflichen | Theologi der Mystischen Gottes-Gelärtheit. | Irenici | Theodicäi. | * * * * Ephrata in Pensylvanien Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft, 1745.*

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The original general title, preface, and the second title, facing page 58, were prepared by Prior Onesimus. Facsimiles of both titles are given upon opposite pages.

*Die Wiederdarstellung | Der reinen Paradisischen Menschheit, oder des Jungfräulichen | Ebenbildes Gottes, welches in Adams Schlaff ist verblicken, und | in Christi Leiden una Sterben wieder auferweckt worden. | Vorgestellt | In einer Sammlung geistlicher und | Theosophischer | Episteln. | * * * *.*

This work, one of Beissel's great efforts in mystic theology, was a quarto of 283 pages, and was full of abstruse speculations, unintelligible to any one not initiated into

[110] The only known copy is in the library of the writer.

ZIONITISCHEN Seiffes I. Theil.
Oder eine

# Volriechende Garbe,

Die nach einer langen Nacht in der herrlichen Morgen-Röthe ist auf gegangen auf dem Gefilde Libanons, und hat unter den Kindern der Weißheit einen Balsamischen Geruch von sich gegeben.

Des von GOtt hoch begnadigten und beadelten fürtrefflichen THEOLOGI der Mystischen GOttes-Gelärtheit.

# IRENICI

# Theodicäi.

Als welcher durch die Stimme des Bräutigams die Gesandschaft des allerreinsten Geistes der Himlischen SOPHIA empfangen zur Offenbarung der Paradisischen Jungfrauschaft: und ist gesalbet worden zum Priesterlichen Amt der Versöhnung in seiner Ihme von GOTT anvertrauten Gemeine.

Bestehend in einer Sammlung geistlicher Gemüts-Bewegungen und Erfahrungs-voller Theosophischer Sendschreiben/ welche von Demselben

An seine vertraute Freunde und geistliche Kinder sind gestellet, und nun um ihrer Vortrefflichkeit willen den Kindern der Weisheit zu einem geistlichen Unterricht gesammlet, und aus Acht gegeben worden.

---

EPHRATA in Pensylvanien Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschaft. 1745.

ORIGINAL TITLE-PAGE OF BEISSEL'S "HOHE ZEUGNÜSSE," AS COMPOSED BY ISRAEL ECKERLIN.

Original in Pennypacker Collection.

Die Wiederdarſtellung

Der reinen Paradiſiſchen Menſchheit, oder des Jungfräulichen Ebenbildes Gottes, welches in Adams Schlaf iſt verblichen, und in Chriſti Leiden und Sterben wieder auferweckt worden.

vorgeſtellt

In einer Sammlung geiſtlicher und

# THEOSOPHISCHER

# Epiſteln,

Darinnen das Geheimnuß der Offenbarung JEſu Chriſti ins Fleiſch, von der erſten Einleuchtung an, als welche geſchiehet durch das Licht der Engliſchen Klarheit, biß auf die Vollendung ſeines Opfers am Creutz entſiegelt wird, und wie ſolches alles ſeine Richtigkeit bey einem jeden Gottes-Menſchen finden müſſe.

Dabey nicht weniger

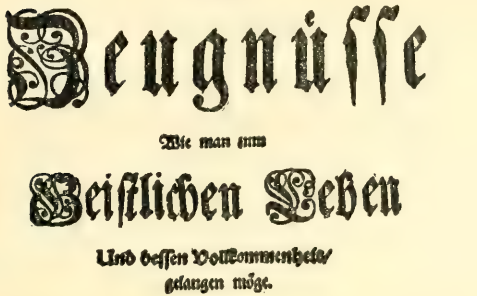
Wichtige Nachrichten Zu finden von dem Rathſchluß Gottes über den Menſchen der Sünden.

Und wie auf dem Weg der Wiedergeburt nach weiſer Vorſehung Gottes alle Dinge, ſie ſeyen ſichbar oder unſichbar, Gutes und Böſes, Licht und Finſternuß, Leben und Tod, ja GOtt ſelbſten, in allen Wirckungen dahin ſich beziehen, daß das Kind des Verderbens unter dem ſtrengen Gericht der Göttlichen Gerechtigkeit aufgerieben, und mithin der reinen Paradiſiſchen Menſchheit Weg gemacht werde zu ihrem Ausgrünen.

Wie ſolches alles von dem hocherleuchteten Autore derſelben in der Schule der Geiſts und einem vieljährigen geiſtlichen Martyrerdum erlernet, und in lebendiger Erfahrung iſt in ſeinem Geiſtlichen Tag-Werck ausgeübet worden.

SECOND TITLE OF BEISSEL'S "HOHE ZEUGNÜSSE"

the mysteries of Rosicrucian philosophy or the teachings of Bœhme and Arnold. It is really in two parts, viz., 37 meditations and 67 theosophic epistles.


Umständliche und Erfahrungs-volle

Hohe

Neugnüsse

Wie man zum

Geistlichen Leben

Und dessen Vollkommenheit/

gelangen möge.

Welche

Ein Hoch-Erleuchteter und GOtt-Ergebener Knecht JEsu Christi, In Seinem Geistlichen Tage-Werck erlernet; Und dieselbe, bey unterschiedenen Umständen, an Seine Geistliche Kinder, und Anverwandte, eröffnet;

Von Denselben aber

Um Ihrer Vortrefflichkeit willen, gesammlet, und, zum Unterrichts Anderer, ans Licht gegeben.

EPHRATA, in *Pensylvanien*, Drucks der Brüderschafft/ 1745.

TITLE-PAGE USED AFTER THE ECKERLIN EXPULSION.
Original in collection of the writer.

It will be noticed that upon the title-page the Kloster name of Beissel is Hellenized in meaning and Latinized in spelling, viz., *Irenicus Theodicaius* (*Friedsam Gottrecht*). This was followed by a preface of sixteen pages, written by Onesimus. This preface, together with both title and sub-

title pages, was ordered to be burned when the Eckerlin episode culminated in the victory of the superintendent.

A new title, preface and sub-title were now prepared, and,




FAC-SIMILE OF SUBSTITUTED TITLE-PAGES.

together with page 283, were reprinted, and the 68th to the 73d Epistles (pp. 284–294) were added. The substituted title-pages are also here shown in fac-simile.

*Urständliche und Erfahrungs-volle | Hohe | Zeugnüsse*

*Wie man zum | Geistlichen Leben | Und dessen Vollkommenheit | gelangen möge. Ephrata, in Pensylvanien, Drucks der Brüderschafft, 1745.*

*Mystische | Und | Erfahrungs-volle | Episteln, | In sich enthaltend, | Wie man zum | Geistlichen Leben | Und | dessen Vollkommenheit, | gelangen möge.*

Another issue of the Ephrata press, bearing the date of the year 1745, is the so-called *Cometen Buch* (Comet Book), a full account of which is to be found in the third chapter of this volume.

The withdrawal of the Eckerlins and their followers, together with the defection of the younger Mack (Theophilus), tended to unsettle the industrial feature of the Community, and was felt to so great an extent in the printing department that, so far as we know, there were no issues whatever from the press of the Brotherhood during the year 1746.

In the next year a renewed attempt was made to utilize the press. It was, however, to be for the exclusive use of the congregation. This resulted in the printing of the hymn book known as the *Turtel Taube*, which was fully described in our chapter upon the music of the Cloister. The significance of the name *Turtel Taube* (Turtle Dove) given to this collection of hymns is explained as follows: From a contemporary manuscript it is learned that it dates from a mythical connection of that bird with the tragedy of the crucifixion. While Christ hung upon the cross, the ancient legend states, a turtle dove flew towards the solemn scene, and alighting upon a tree near the cross, sadly sighed "Kyrie, Kyrie, Kyrie," denoting the first (Greek) word of the prayer *Kyrie Eleison* (Lord have mercy,—*Kyrios*, Lord; *eleison*, have mercy).[111]

It was during the printing of this hymn book that the mills of the Community were destroyed by fire as narrated

[111] See also Song of Solomon, ii: 14.

in a former chapter. As matters in the Community began to settle down to the old routine during the preparation of this book, the Eckerlin *émeute* was gradually forgotten; and while the book was yet upon the press overtures were received from the Mennonites, looking forward to the translation of their great Martyr Book into High German and its publication in that tongue.

For years it had been the cherished dream of the followers of Simon Menno in America, to have a German version of Bragh't's *Martyrer Spiegel* in their own language. For some reason, possibly on account of the magnitude of the task, and the scattered condition of the Mennonites in the Fatherland, it was not undertaken either in Holland or Germany. Consequently, when the Sauer press was set up in Germantown and the Bible printed there, the Mennonites fondly cherished the thought that now there was some chance for a fulfillment of their long fostered desire.

The estrangement between Sauer and his collaborators from Ephrata, and the unsatisfactory quality of paper used by the Germantown printer in his Bible,[112] together with the lack of any competent translator and corrector (proof-reader) caused the Mennonites to abandon for a time their project, so far as this country was concerned, and again turn their attention to the old country. This resulted in a final appeal to the Brethren in Holland, when under date of October 19, 1745, Jacob Godschalck, of Germantown; Dielman Kolb, of Salford; Michael Ziegler, Yilles Kassel and Martin Kolb, of Skippach, and Heinrich Funck, of Indian Creek, wrote, under instructions from the various communities, a letter to Amsterdam upon the subject.[113]

As no reply was received to this urgent appeal for several

[112] See letter sent to Amsterdam, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. v, p. 276, *et seq.*

[113] Letter in full in *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, Pennypacker, Philadelphia, 1883.

Der
Blutige Schau-Platz
oder
Spiegel der Tauffs-Gesinten
oder
Wehrlosen-Christen,

Die um des Zeugnuß JEsu ihres Seligmachers willen gelitten haben, und seynd getödtet worden, von Christi Zeit an bis auf das Jahr 1660.

Vormals aus unterschiedlichen glaubwürdigen Chronicken, Nachrichten und Zeugnissen gesamlet und in Holländischer Sprach herauß gegeben

von T. J. V. BRAGHT.

Nun aber sorgfältigst ins Hochteutsche übersetzt und zum erstenmal ans Licht gebracht.




EPHRATA in Pensylvanien,
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft. Anno MDCCXLVIII.

TITLE-PAGE OF THE GREAT MARTYR BOOK.

Des
Blutigen Schau-Platzes
oder
Martyrer-Spiegels
der
Taüffs
Gesinnten
oder
Wehrlosen Christen.
zweyte Theil.
Vormals in Holländischer Sprache heraus gegeben,
und mit vielen glaubwürdigen Urkunden vermehrt,
nun aber aus dem Holländischen in das Hochteutsche getreulich über-
setzet, und mit einigen neuen Nachrichten vermehret.



EPHRATA in Pensylvanien
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft. Anno. MDCCXLIX.

TITLE-PAGE TO THE SECOND PART OF THE GREAT MARTYR BOOK.

years, the Mennonites turned their attention to the Ephrata Brotherhood, who, as has been shown, had already translated and printed a few extracts from the book for them.

One of the Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem, who visited Ephrata at the time, writes in his diary under date of March 20, 1748:

"The Mennonites are about contracting with the Ephrata press to translate and print their Book of Martyrs, a thick folio written in Low Dutch. They believe what the martyrs spoke was inspired, and as many of them suffered martyrdom for denying infant baptism they strenuously oppose it."

This entry in the Bethlehem diary gives us the exact date of the beginning of the great work of which Prior Jaebez was the translator and master spirit. Preparations were now made by the Society to print the book. Fifteen brethren were to be constantly employed upon the task until its completion; of these, eight were assigned to the printing department, namely, four as compositors, and four as pressmen, two to each press. The other seven wrought in the paper mill, the whole work and the correction of the sheets being under the supervision of Prior Jaebez.

The paper for this edition was of an extra quality of stock, and was prepared with great care. It was made upon plain sieves without any special watermark; the sheets when bound and trimmed measure fourteen by seventeen and one-half inches, the page of type matter was 12 x 7¼ inches; two pages were locked up to a form. This measurement would indicate that each page was brought separately under the platen to be impressed upon the paper.

When the work was well under way, a reply was received from Holland to the appeal made in October, 1745, which answer was intended to throw a wet blanket upon the whole enterprise. It stated among other things: "They thought it utterly impracticable, both because of the trouble of finding a translator and because of the immense expense that

would be incurred." As a way out of the difficulty they suggested that some of the brethren who understood the Dutch language should translate the chief histories in which the confessions of the martyrs are given and have them copied by the young people in manuscript. By so doing would be secured the "double advantage that through the copying they would give more thought to it and receive a stronger impression."[114]

The work, however, was now upon the road to completion, and the monumental literary venture was finally finished, bound and ready for delivery some time during the year 1751. It had taken just three years to complete the task. A council of Mennonites was now called and the price was fixed at twenty shillings per copy.

The binding was as solid and ponderous as the book itself, and consisted of heavy boards covered with leather of home tanning, reinforced by mountings of brass at the corners, each of which, together with a band at the top and bottom of the book, heavily studded with large, headed brass nails so as to protect the leather. Two massive brass clamps kept the pages and cover in position when not in use. Some of the copies were embellished with a large copper-plate engraving. No definite records exist as to where these plates were printed, whether here or abroad. Of late strong evidences have been found that there was such a press as copper-plates are printed from at Ephrata at an early date.

The printing of this book proved a serious undertaking for the Brethren in a pecuniary sense, and by the time it was completed the Brotherhood was deeply in debt. This was fortunately soon liquidated by the heavy sales of the book.

Acrelius, in the account of his visit to the Kloster in 1753, says that Peter Miller told him that he himself had trans-

[114] The greater part of the literature of the Schwenkfelders was reproduced and disseminated in this way in Pennsylvania.

lated the whole volume, also that he had labored upon it for three years and was at the same time so burthened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night. At the time of this visit there were then five hundred [600?] copies still on hand, the price having been advanced to twenty-two shillings. What became of the rest of the edition which remained unsold at the outbreak of the Revolution is told in a foot-note by Prior Jaebez [Agrippa] in the *Chronicon:*

"When there was a great lack of all war material and also of paper, the fact was betrayed that there was a large quantity of printed paper in Ephrata, which then was pretty soon confiscated. Many protests were raised against this in the Settlement, and it was alleged, among the rest, that this might lead to evil consequences on account of the English army. They resolved not to give up any thing voluntarily, but that it would have to be taken by force. Consequently there arrived two wagons and six soldiers, who took possession of all the copies of the Book of Martyrs, after making prompt payment for them. This gave great offence in the country, and many thought that the war would not end favorably for the country, because the memorials of the holy martyrs had been thus maltreated. At last, however, they were honored again, for some sensible persons bought in all that were left of them."

The Mennonites, after the negotiations had reached a certain point, appointed Henrich Funk and Dielman Kolb as a committee to close the contract with the Ephrata Brethren, and verify the translation. Their certificate is appended to some copies, saying:

"It was desired by very many in Pennsylvania that there should be a German translation and edition of the Martyr Book of the Defenceless Christians or Tauffs-gesinneten, before printed in the Dutch language, and the Brotherhood in Ephrata, at Conestoga, offered and promised not only that they would translate the book, but would take care that it should

be of neat print and a Good paper and at their own cost, if we would promise to buy the copies and have none printed or brought here from any other place. Thereupon the elders and ministers of those communities of the Tauffs-gesinneten which are called Mennonites (to which the communities the said book is best adapted), went to Ephrata and made there with their said friends an agreement that they, the said Tauffs-gesinneten, would buy the said books at a reasonable price, and would not give orders elsewhere, provided they should receive assurance of good work, paper and translation, but if the print should not turn out well they should be released." [115]

The titles of this splendid folio, which is really two volumes bound in one, and in some respects the most remarkable book of the colonial period, are shown on pages 245 and 246.

A further comprehension of the magnitude of this venture is gained when we consider the quantity of paper required, not only to print the edition but for a single book? Every volume contains sixteen full quires of paper. The edition was 1300 copies, consequently when we consider the usual percentage of loss allowed at that period it amounts to a grand total of no less than 1184 reams of this extra heavy paper.

The diarist of the Community further tells us:

"That this book of Martyrs was the cause of many trials among the Solitary and contributed not a little to their spiritual martyrdom, is still fresh in remembrance. The Superintendent, who had started the work, had other reasons than gain for it. The welfare of those entrusted to him lay near his heart, and he therefore allowed no opportunity to pass with which he might contribute anything to it. Those three years, during which said book was in press, proved an excellent preparation for spiritual martyrdom, although during that time

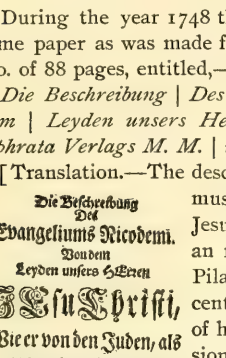
[115] For certificates in full, see *Pennypacker's Historical and Biographical Sketches*, pp. 157–173.

six failed and joined the world again. When this is taken into consideration, as also the low price, and how far those who worked at it were removed from self-interest, the biographies of the holy martyrs, which the book contains, cannot fail to be a source of edification to all who read them. Moderation and vigilance were observed during this task as strictly as ever in the convent; but everything was in such confusion, that in spite of all care, each had to submit to discipline at least once a day."

During the year 1748 there was also printed, upon the same paper as was made for the Martyr Book, a small 16 mo. of 88 pages, entitled,—

*Die Beschreibung | Des | Evangeliums Nicodemi, | Von dem | Leyden unsers Herren | Jesu Christi, | * * * Ephrata Verlags M. M. | im Jahr 1748.*

[Translation.—The description of the Gospel of Nicodemus, of the sufferings of our Lord Jesus Christ, how he by the Jews, as an malefactor, sorcerer, etc., before Pilate was falsely accused and innocently condemned to death. As also of his burial, resurrection and ascension, etc. Which was described in the thirtieth year of the reign of Tyberius. Ephrata, Printed at the expense of [Verlags], M. M., in the year 1748].


Die Beschreibung
Des
Evangeliums Nicodemi.
Von dem
Leyden unsers HErren
JEsu Christi,
Wie er von den Juden, als
Ein Uebelthäter Zauberer/ ect: vor
Pilato fälschlich verklagt, und unschuldig zum Tod verurtheilt worden.
Wie auch
Von seiner Begräbnuß,
Auferstehung u. Himelfahrt ect:
Welches beschrieben worden in dem
dreyßigsten Jahr des Kayserthums Tyberii.
Ephrata Verlags M: M:
im Jahr 1748.

REDUCED FAC-SIMILE OF TITLE-PAGE.

This was a reprint of the Marburg edition of 1561, and was issued as a private venture of Michael Müller, the former schoolmaster of the Tulpehocken Reformed Church, who was one of the converts baptized at the time of the great revival in 1735, when both the pastor, Peter Miller, and Conrad Weiser, his chief elder, were immersed by Beissel.

Brother Miller, as he was known, was a married man who, upon his coming to Ephrata, following the example of Conrad Weiser, separated from his wife and joined the Zionitic Brotherhood, while his wife entered the sister-house. After the disruption of the Zionitic Brotherhood in 1745, the couple resumed their relationship and became householders and prominent members of the Secular Community.

It is usually assumed that this book was a reprint of the Gospel of Nicodemus, and that the version published in 1764 was a second edition of the above work. This is an error, for the edition of 1764 is the apocryphcal Gospel pure and simple. The version of 1748 is a readable paraphrase of Nicodemus, at the close of which is printed the celebrated letter of King Abgarus to Christ, together with his answer; then follows an Epistle of Lentulus to the Emperor Tiberius, and a extract from a life of Claudia, the wife of Pontius Pilate, and the account of the latter's miserable death.



WATERMARK USED IN EPHRATA PAPER-MILL FOR COMMERCIAL WORK.

Great value was placed by many of the early Germans upon these letters, as they were supposed to ward off sickness and calamities from both man and beast.

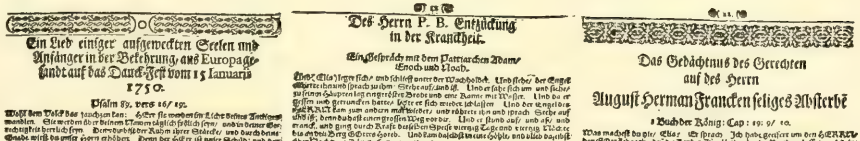
Mention was made in a former chapter of the cordial feeling between the Lutherans and the celibates on the Cocalico, and of the material aid extended by the former when the mills of the Kloster were destroyed by fire.

Evidence of this *entente cordiale* is shown by the publication, in 1750, even while in the midst of the heavy labor upon the *Martyr Spiegel*, of a small quarto of 48 pages, containing three hymns or poems in honor of the Lutheran pastors in Pennsylvania and the authorities under whose auspices they came here. The title reads:




THE ABGARUS PORTRAIT OF CHRIST.

FROM AN ANCIENT COPY IN THE SACHSE COLLECTION



## Ein Lied einiger aufgeweckten Seelen und Anfänger in der Bekehrung, aus Europa gesandt auf das Dancf-Fest vom 15 Januarii 1750.

### Psalm 89. vers 16/ 19.

Wohl dem Volck das jauchzen kan: Herr sie wandeln im Liechte deines Angesichts mundten. Ehe sie reden thr er heissen Thränen täglich fröhlich seyen: und in deiner Gnade wirdt sie unser Horn erhöhen. Denn der Herr ist unser Schild; und der Heilige in Israel ist unser König.

Wer Ewig in dem Lande stonst
Wollen wir mit Herz und Munde
Halleluiah stimmen ein!
Unser Lieben
Solle schallen
Durch die wüste und wusten Wälder,
Lieber Berg und flache Felder.
6. Da wo mögen gros Schauren,
Mit denen darinn sind angetroffen,
Da denn Klagen und das Plaudern,
Folgen thnen Verdungsam,
Aus dem Jammer
In die Kammer,
Wo die Seele wird gelabet,
Und mit Gottes Kraft begabet,
7. Selther sind und vierzig Jahren!
Geht es besser in der Welt,
Als man lange nicht erfahret.

Weg

Des Herrn P. B. Entzückung in der Krancheit.

Ein Gebrauch mit dem Patriarchen Adam/ Enoch und Noah.

Ehre! Ehre! legen sie/ und schlieffen unter der Wasserfluth. Ueberstehe/ der Engel Martertod nennt sprach zu ihm: Siehe auf und sihe. Und er sahe sich um und siehe/ zu seinen Häupten lag ein gegrabenes Brod und eine Kanne mit Wasser. Und da er gessen und getrunken hatte/ legte er sich wieder schlaffen. Und der Engel des HERRN kam zum andern mahl wieder/ und rührete ihn an und sprach: Stehe auf und iß/ denn du hast einen grossen Weg vor dir. Und er stund auf/ aß und trank/ und ging durch Krafft desselben Speise viertzig Tage und viertzig Nächte bis an den Berg Gottes Horeb. Und kam daselbst in eine Höhle/ und allda daselbst über Nacht. 1 Königs. Cap. 19. 1/8/9/10.

Komm und schaue dieß Schauren,
Die zu nächst um meinen Thron:
Die diese Seelen waren
Zu der Kammer,
Wo die Seele wird gelabet,
Und mit Gottes Kraft begabet,
Aus dem Jammer
In die Kammer,
Da wirdt sauffen,
Da wirdt brausen
Unser Christen, Juden und Heiden,
Da wirdt sein die Zeit der Juden.
Weyen wir nur eine Stunde.

Ach! ich sehe die Lehrer glänzen!
Wie der schnelle Stern in Pracht;
Wie die Sonne mit Macht.
Jn dem grünen Paradeis-Lusten,
Dasse dienen Tag und Nacht.
Jch kan sehen Gluth nicht tragen,
Meine Augen sind zu schwach,
Wenn ich solches werden mag.
Wie Er in der Welt gestritten,
Wider Satans Reich u. Thron,
Und was Er dabey gelitten,
Bis Er kam zur Ehren-Krone,
Göttliche Antwort.
Da muß Jedem über staunen,
Wie Er in der Welt gethan!
Er wird dir es gerne sagen,
Singe nur von seinen Gnaden,

Hymn

Das Gedächtnus des Gerechten auf des Herrn August Herman Francken seliges Absterbe

2 Buch der Könige: Cap: 13: 9/ 10.

Was machest du hier/ Elias? Er sprach: Ich habe geeifert um den HERRN den Gott Zebaoth, denn die Kinder Jsrael haben meinen Bund verlassen/ und deine Altare zerbrochen/ und deine Propheten mit dem Schwerdt ermördet/ und ich bin allein übergeblieben und sie stehen darnach/ daß sie mir mein Leben nehmen.

O Jr Zeit kam nun herbey, Elliam weg zu nehmen
Da brocht Immanuel den Seinen lächelnd her:
Jhr Leben, liebe ihn mich, so mögt ihr euch benennen:
Dieß sey in unsrer Burg auf morgen Musik sey
Es wird ein grosser Geist zu seiner Crone kommen,
Die Thore wird ihm schon allmählich abgewinnen,
Der dunkle Himmel spricht mit Ehrfurcht: Jhnen Amen:
Und viele singten sich: wer wird wohl diese spiel
Dabey auch Schaar um Schaar, uns Buß des Lebens kamen.
Und drei kam einer dem, dem andern zeigt an:
Ein leher war vergnügt, und sprach mit frei gem Lachen,
Der aufgenannte Tag, wirds klar und deutlich machen.
Bevorderst merckt ich an, Dero verwandte Creutzen/
Recht englisch ausgeschmückt in Cron und Seiden gehn:
Ich dachte bey mir selbst, wie mag dis Kleidnt heissen/
Dieß seine Blätter so vertraut beysammen stehn.

Mer.

"Loving proclamation to the fathers, friends and well-wishers in Europe, issued to those sent by them as shepherds in Pennsylvania, upon this their praise and thanksgiving festival, celebrating their safe arrival, which falls annually upon the 15th of January."

This title alludes particularly to the coming of Pastor Peter Brunholtz, together with the two deacons (*Candit. Theolog.*), Johann Helfrich Schaum and Johann Nicholas Kurtz, January 15, 1745. (Ordained August 14, 1748).

This little quarto, the only known copy of which is in the Pennypacker collection, is divided into three parts. The first consists of eleven pages, "A hymn of several awakened souls and beginners in the conversion, sent from Europe upon the Thank festival of the 15th of January, 1750."

The second part, containing ten pages, is a colloquial poem between the patriarchs Adam, Enoch and Noah. It is entitled "Rev. P[eter] B[runholtz] Ecstasy in His Sickness."

The third and last part contains twenty-six pages. It is a metrical poem, composed in honor and in the memory of the Rev. August Herman Francke (d. June 8, 1723) founder of Halle Orphanage, the institution under whose auspices Mühlenberg and his assistants came to this Province.

The title of this tribute was: "The remembrance of the righteous upon the Rev. August Herman Francke's blessed death." Reduced fac-similes of the title-pages of these three parts are reproduced. The general title is unfortunately wanting in the copy at our disposal.

We will here leave the issues of the Press of the Brotherhood for a short time to resume our narrative of the Cloister.

## CHAPTER XI.

### THE NANTMEL REVIVAL.




For a time after the exodus of the two Eckerlins—Onesimus and Jephune—the discipline of the Kloster was quite unsettled. The younger brother, Jotham, still remained and posed as prior, while Elimelech was also within easy call. How the two brothers finally left the settlement was fully told in a former chapter. According to Agrippa, "the scandal of this schism spread through the whole country, and just as formerly this small community had by its harmony brought everything close together, so did this disunion now dissolve everything. The merchants of Philadelphia, who had traded with them, were displeased at this loss. They had expected to find indulgence for their worldly life from these supposed saints, and if the Government had been able to interfere the affair would have been brought before the courts, but the sins were not against the Government, but against God."

After a number of the dissatisfied ones among both orders had left the settlement and joined the colony on the New river, and peace and quietness was again restored, a festival

of thanksgiving was held on September 27, 1745, when ten of the brethren renewed their covenant by baptism. A few days later they were followed by fourteen others. After the baptism the hair of all of the brethren, including Beissel's, was cut; the tonsure, however, was omitted. Upon the following day the bread was broken in the Saal of Zion in presence of both orders. Upon this occasion Beissel was again installed as Chief Priest and Superintendent, while Brother Jethro (Jacob Gass) was appointed Prior.

The example set by the brethren was immediately followed by the sisters, so that all of them were re-baptized by Beissel on two days, October 3d and 15th, 1745, after which the remaining brethren were also immersed. So great was the enthusiasm upon this occasion, that a proposition was made to celebrate this day annually similar to the Schwenkfelders' *Gedencknüss Tag*, in memory of this reunion, and that upon the recurrence of that day all members were to be again baptized. This plan, however, was not carried out.

Complete harmony now appeared to be restored in the settlement, but to further eliminate all reminders of the Eckerlin régime it was proposed that the brethren leave their houses upon the hill and build a convent in the meadow. The story of the brotherhouse, "Bethania," has been told in our previous volume. It will, however, be of interest to note the changes wrought by the abandonment of Zion by the Brotherhood. The widowers and widows who lived in the convent Kedar, which belonged to the Sisterhood, now moved into Zion, and the brethren temporarily took their place. This act virtually marks the disbandment of the Zionitic Brotherhood, which culminated on October 22, 1745, when they handed Zion Convent and its outbuildings over to the secular congregation for the uses of its poor.

The next matter of note took place December 27th of the




THE ECKERLIN BELL.

PHOTOGRAPH FURNISHED BY SAM'L M. SENER, ESQ.

same year, when the Brotherhood sold the large tower clock and bells to the Reformed and Lutheran churches in Lancaster. The largest of these bells was cast in England to the order of Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin), at a cost of eighty pounds sterling. It bore the inscription:

*Sub Auspicio Viri Venerandi Onesimi Societatis Ephratensis Praepositi.*

[Translation.—By order of the Venerable Onesimus, Superior of the Ephrata Society.]

This was sold to the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity at Lancaster, and there for years called the faithful to church or pealed out merrily upon joyous occasions—or solemnly tolled when some one was carried to his last resting-place in the *Gottes-acker* beside the church.

In the year 1854 the latter corporation concluded to dispense with the old bell. It was sold to Gottlieb Sener, a member of the church, who presented it to the Washington Fire Company, and for almost thirty years it did duty as an alarm bell, its brazen notes calling the volunteer firemen to rally for the protection of property from the devouring element. Upon the disbanding of the company in 1882 it was purchased by Mr. J. Frederick Sener and presented to Grace Lutheran Church, an English offshoot of old Trinity Church. It now has a crack very similar to our old Liberty bell.

THE most idiotic incident connected with Beissel's rule of the settlement, next to the demolishment of the prayer-saal of Kedar as narrated in our former volume (p. 381), was the uprooting of a young orchard of one thousand fruit trees which had been planted under the supervision of the Eckerlins and was then about coming into bearing.

Jethro after serving four months as Prior was superseded by Jaebez. How under his oversight the present brother-

house was built has already been fully told.[116] The office of Prior at that time was by no means a sinecure, as Prior Jaebez experienced from the moment he assumed the embroidered robe and jeweled breast-plate. Ere six months passed the modest Jaebez asked to be relieved of his charge and again became an humble brother in the cloister. The *Chronicon* thus mentions this episode:

"It was the custom of the other priors to try to establish themselves firmly in their office by gaining the favor of the Brethren; he, on the contrary, never cultivated any fellowship with any of the Brethren, which indeed was the cause of his early fall. With this, he also came into too close intimacy with the Superintendent, whereby he was more heavily burdened with the weight of his spirit than his human nature could bear."

So when, September 5, 1746, Jethro was again installed in the office and assumed the responsibilities of Prior, one of his first rulings was that his late predecessor Jaebez be prohibited from holding any intercourse with Beissel except by his, Jethro's, permission. This was a hard blow for the erudite Jaebez, but it was accepted in a spirit of meek humility and obedience. As the burden grew heavier upon him he composed a hymn of nine stanzas.[117]

Ach komme bald! mein Freund, in deinem Garten, dann sonsten zeitigen die Früchte nicht: mir ist oft bang bey viel und langem warten, weil mein Gemüth allein auf dich gericht. Hat mich die schwartze Trauer Nacht schon hesslich ungestalt gemacht; so halte ich doch an mit Flehen, dein schönes Angesicht zu sehen.

This hymn extolled the virtue and humility of Beissel as the spiritual guide of the congregation. It produced the desired effect, for the Superintendent read it out to the Prior, and ordered the harsh rules against Jaebez revoked. Thus once again the two leading characters of the congre-

[116] Volume I, pp. 479, *et seq.*

[117] Printed on page 292 of *Paradisiches Wunderspiel.*

gation were in full accord, and Jaebez, now freed from all subjection to his successor the Prior, was again entrusted with the most important work of the Kloster.

We now arrive at one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the Ephrata movement. Even before the expulsion of the Eckerlins, revivals were held among the English and Welsh Sabbatarians, who had settled in the valley of the French creek in Nantmel, Chester county. This settlement of Sabbath-keepers dates back to the first quarter of the eighteenth century and was the result of a desire upon the part of the Providence Sabbatarians for a community of their own, where they could live undisturbed and exercise the dictates of their conscience according to their own laws. For this purpose a number of families of the Providence (Newtown, Delaware county) church had surveyed to them in 1717 large tracts of land on the north branch of the Brandywine and French creek. Prominent among those who settled upon their lands were Owen Roberts, William Iddings, Richard, Jeremiah and John Peircell (Piersol), David Roberts, William Phillips, John Williams, William David, Samuel Nutt, Philip Roger, John James, Mordecai Lincoln, Lewis David, Simon Meridith.

A FEW years later the infant colony was reinforced by a number of families from the Great Valley Baptist Church. These were led by Phillips Davis, Lewis Williams, Richard Edwards, Griffy Griffiths and William James, who broke off from that church on account of their change of sentiment concerning the Sabbath. This migration was soon followed by further accessions, and the society at Nantmel became numerically the strongest in the country, although the Newtown (Providence) con-

gregation was always considered the chief seat of the society.

Even dismissals from one church to another of different faith were not an uncommon occurrence during this period of our settlement, nor were they confined to the two branches of the Baptist denomination, but a church would, if occasion required it, dismiss such members over to another, though of a different denomination, rather than have them sever their connection in a summary manner.

One of these curious certificates came into the possession of the writer several years ago, and proved to be the dismissal of a family from the Presbyterian church in the Great Chester Valley to the Baptist church in the same vicinity.[118] The document well illustrates the good feeling and intercourse which at that time existed between these two denominations in Chester county:

To the Christian Congregation in Tredyffrin going under the denomination of Baptists.

These are to certify to you, that ye bearers, David John and Jane his wife, have for some time been members in full communion with us, and have behaved, as far as we know, regularly and Christianly, but of late, scruples have rose in their minds about their baptism, so that they profess themselves bound in conscience to seek to have that ordinance administered to them your way. As such above expressed, therefore, and on this account we dismiss them and recommend them to your fellowship and Christian care.

SAMUEL EVANS, Minister.
JAMES ABRAHAM.
DAVID GRIFFITH.

It was from intercourse with these people that Conrad Beissel first obtained his peculiar views of keeping the Sabbath. In after years the cordial and fraternal feeling

[118] Original now in possession of Hon. Horatio McClain Jones, St. Louis, Mo.

between the Ephrata celibates and the English Sabbatarians at Nantmel[119] was an unbroken one. The English settlement as time went on increased by converts from among the Quakers as well as from other denominations.

One of the earliest and most enthusiastic converts of the Sabbatarian movement in Nantmel was one Israel Seymour, who appears to have been a man of some natural gifts and considerable versatility. He was born in New Castle county, and originally followed the sea, rising to the command of a vessel, which, by the way, tradition tells us was a piratical craft, engaged in freebooting. How or by what influence he drifted to the Sabbatarian settlement at French creek does not appear.

The records inform us that, in 1746, Israel Seymour, his sister Hannah Hackley and Abel Griffith entered Bethania and Saron for instruction, but finding the mode of life and discipline too strict, asked to be again released. Beissel consented to this, but before dismissing Seymour baptized him again and ordained him to service among the English and Welsh. Returning to Nantmel, Seymour was well received as an evangelist, and his labors resulted in a number of households and single persons joining the Ephrata Community and casting their lot with Beissel and his followers. Among these people we find the families of Jeremiah Piersol, John Derborough, Job Stretch, and some single persons as Thomas Peascify [*sic*], David Roger and others.

Israel Seymour soon gathered converts enough in that part of Chester county to warrant the building of a community house or monastery, somewhat similar to the Ephrata buildings, but upon a lesser scale. This house was also called Bethania, and was erected by the Ephrata brethren. The intercourse between the two communities now became quite close and intimate, the services upon

[119] Derived from Nantmel [Nantmeal, Nantmill] in Radnorshire, Wales.

every third week being conducted by some of the mystics from the Ephrata Cloister, both sexes being represented.

In the course of these visits, one of the younger sisters, a daughter of Johann Henrich Hagemann, became enamored of the English evangelist, and took up her residence in the hermitage at French creek under the pretence of perfecting herself in the English language, with Israel Seymour as her tutor The tender affection was reciprocated by the latter, and it was not long ere the celestial Bridegroom was renounced for the more material Englishman.

This escapade caused a great commotion in the settlement as well as among the French creek congregation, who asserted that Seymour could not preach nearly so forcible a sermon since his renunciation of celibacy. The union was by no means a happy one, as Seymour was subject to fits of insanity, and at such times was entirely irresponsible for his actions. Agrippa in commenting upon this episode says:

"A married life thus commenced in fraud and hypocrisy could not bear good fruit, for he had not learnt to descend from his spiritual height and priestly dignity, and to take upon himself the burden of a household. And she, as a spiritual virgin, was not accustomed to submit to a man. After this he left the service of the congregation and his hermitage, where the tempter had mocked him with false sanctity, and the Brethren erected for him another dwelling-house. But the tempter did not rest. He breathed into him very suspicious thoughts towards the Superintendent, namely, that the same had envied him his gifts, and that this female, therefore, had been made use of to bring about his fall. All this caused him to lose his senses, and he was for some time a victim of madness. For all this he had to thank his having with unwashed hands engaged in so important official duties."

Owing to the defection of Seymour the community at French creek experienced a serious check, and while a few

of the English moved to Ephrata and adhered to the congregation on the Cocalico, the majority renewed their fealty to the plain Sabbatarian doctrine, and in 1762 built a meeting-house (of 30 x 22 feet) beside the old burial-ground at Nantmel (near Knauertown, Warwick township). All vestige of this old sanctuary has long since disappeared. Of the Welsh and English converts, occasional traces are found in the Ephrata burial records, thus showing that at least a few remained in union with the German mystics unto death. Of the householders who came to the Cocalico the younger generations gradually intermarried with their German neighbors and became Germanized, if the term may be permitted.

Returning once again to Israel Seymour. After regaining his reason he engaged in a series of cunning frauds, which seriously involved not only his wife's father Johann Henrich Hagemann and his family, but several other landed proprietors who were members of the secular congregation. Ephrata records state that so subtle were his frauds that neither magistrate nor jurist could get behind his artifices. The chief burden of his misdoings, however, fell upon his wife's family, and culminated after the death of the elder Hagemann in 1753, when a bond of Seymour's was entered up against the estate, which threatened to wipe out the whole residue. In their great extremity the family placed the matter in the hands of Jaebez for adjudication. The latter appealed to Justice Conrad Weiser,[120] who advised that the Orphans' Court had best rule upon the case, and if possible adjust the matter so as to protect the estate. What the outcome of this adjudication was is not known to the writer; one result, however, was that Seymour immediately fled the country upon hearing that the matter was to be ventilated by the Orphans' Court.

The next we learn of the fugitive is found among Ed-

[120] Original letter in the Rupp collection.

wards' manuscript notes of materials for a history of the Baptists. From these it appears that he journeyed into the Carolinas, and there enlisted in the army to fight against the Indians. In one of the engagements with the savages his horse was shot from under him; this so affected him that he earnestly prayed to Almighty God, and made a vow that if God would save him out of this danger he would mend his life. After victory was won he retired from the service, and went to the parish of St. Mark, Craven county, South Carolina. Here a few of the original Nantmel Sabbatarians had settled a year or so previously; they were without any preacher and received Seymour gladly and chose him as their minister. In the meantime several others from Nantmel joined the settlement; among these were John Dumckly, Joshua Edwards, Benjamin Gregory, Eli Harris, Thomas Owen and Victor Nally, all men of family and some wealth; the last two came in 1757.

Just what became of Seymour's Ephrata wife is an unsolved mystery, there does not appear to be any record of her death in the Community registers, nor is there anything to show that he took her along upon his flight to the Carolinas. According to the Edwards MSS., Seymour upon his return from the Indian wars married Mary Nally, daughter of Victor, by whom he had three children.

Israel Seymour during his lucid periods organized the scattered settlers into a congregation similar to the Ephrata church. Edwards tells us this was strictly a Sabbatarian community, wherein all of the Ephrata features, such as love-feasts, foot-washing and singing were strictly adhered to. This congregation became known as the Broad River Church, and at the time of Edwards' visit in 1770 consisted of eighteen families, all of whom were baptized. Edwards further mentions in his note that he (Seymour) was then *compos mentis*, from which it would appear that he was still subject to periods of mental aberration.

Nothing was heard at Ephrata of Seymour until about fifteen years after his sudden departure, when a letter was received from him at the Kloster, stating that it was his intention to return to that institution. This was followed, after the lapse of yet another fifteen years (1783), by a missive which was signed by him and more than forty members of his congregation, which, as Agrippa says,

"Shows that God afterwards made use of him to build up an English congregation according to the plan he had projected when still living a Solitary in the Settlement. And since he put his hand to the plough again, according to his vow, and returned to his former faith, the preceding narrative will not be prejudicial to him, for the ways of God are incomprehensible, and all of us will fall, although it were better we fell into the hands of God than into the judgment of the world."



## CHAPTER XII.

### THE GIMBSHEIM REVIVAL.



Wappen von Krefeld.

We will now shift our scene for a few moments once again to the Palatinate beyond the sea. Nestling among the vine-clad hills on the west bank of the Rhine, between Worms and Oppenheim, is the village of Gimbsheim; a little further inland is Alsheim,—both in the vicinity or jurisdiction of historic Alzey. In the former village, on the Rhine, lived Johann Peter Beissel, an elder brother of our Magus on the Cocalico, who it appears had about this time also been imbued with the feeling of spiritual unrest and religious fervor then so rife in the Palatinate.

After Conrad Beissel's arrival in America a continuous correspondence was kept up between the brothers. This was chiefly upon religious subjects, and the Pennsylvania letters had a strong influence upon the brother in Germany.

After the establishment of the monastic feature at Ephrata, a formal testimony was prepared and sent abroad to the brother in Germany. This was afterwards incorporated in the *Theosophische Episteln* (No. IV, p. 84). It was also reproduced and circulated among the Sectarians in Germany,

and proved the means of bringing about a great religious revival in Gimbsheim, Alsheim and the surrounding country. Thus was the direct influence of the Ephrata theosophy extended to the Fatherland. How it took root and flourished for a time the sequel will show.

When this pietistic revival took definite shape and an extended form, efforts were instituted by both the regular Catholic and the Reformed clergy to crush this new movement of non-conformity; as noted in the Ephrata records, "They sounded the alarm, and every Sunday thundered from their pulpits against these new Pietists."

The principals in this persecution were the Reformed ministers of the two villages, who, finding that the local magistrates were powerless to act, brought the matter before the consistory at Heidelberg. This ecclesiastical tribunal either hesitated or was at a loss to know just how to check the new revival movement, and at a sitting held April 21, 1742, referred the case back to the local magistrates. The clergy, not to be daunted, under date of May 7, 1742, made a direct appeal to Charles Philip, Count Palatine, who, after hearing the case, also refused to take action in the premises. A part of this controversy found its way into the newspapers and was reprinted by Sauer in his paper for January and February, 1744.[121]

Shortly after the failure of their efforts both Reformed ministers of Gimbsheim and Alsheim suddenly died,—an event looked upon the by Sectarians as providential, and as a divine rebuke to their persecutors. The following printed notice was issued and circulated:

"That as it hath pleased the Lord to remove our two greatest accusers by a timely death, Pastor Hess of Alsheim

[121] Extract "Churpfälzisches Kirchenraths Protocoll, d. d. Heidelberg, d. 21, April, 1742 (XLII Stück, January 16, 1744.) Copia des schreibens von Kirchen Rath an seine Chur-Fürstliche Durchl. (XLIII Stück February 16, 1744).

and Pastor Bär of Gimbsheim, within a few weeks,—so do we now take greater liberties in our good endeavors so long as it may please the Lord."

The remarkable death of these two pastors caused the widow of the Gimbsheim minister to issue a statement that the Pietists had "prayed the two ministers to death," a charge which was met by a denial and statement that "they prayed for their enemies and not against them."

COUNT CHARLES PHILIP having died (December 31, 1742), renewed charges were brought against the awakened upon the accession of Karl Theodor as ruler of the Palatinate, resulting in the arrest, conviction and fining of the leaders in the revival movement. Therefore they were obliged to look to other places for liberty of conscience, so a number of them went to Herrnhaag and Gelnhausen; here also clerical opposition manifested itself, and the plan was now seriously entertained for an emigration of the whole congregation to Pennsylvania. This was in response to repeated missives from Ephrata; the great obstacle, however, in the way of obtaining this desired object was a lack of funds necessary for the passage, as all of the Gimbsheim awakened were of the poor laboring class. To overcome this difficulty, funds were sent out by the Ephrata Community in 1748 to pay their passage.

The first contingent arrived at Philadelphia on the ship "Ann," September 28, 1749, and consisted of relatives of the Superintendent, chief among whom was his elder brother Johann Peter Beussell (Beissel), with his wife and family. This party came to Ephrata early in October and were promptly baptized into the congregation.

Other arrivals followed during the next few weeks, who were baptized in November. These accessions filled the various houses of the settlement, and as most of the newcomers were married and had families, special provision had

to be made for their support and shelter. This taxed the resources of the Solitary to the utmost. A number of the younger unmarried people, both male and female, joined the single orders; most all, however, soon recanted on account of the strict discipline and the austere and confined mode of life, married and remained true to the faith by joining the secular congregation. Prominent among the notable exceptions, were a nephew and nieces of Beissel, who remained steadfast and ended their days in the Kloster as Brother Zadok and Sisters Sevoram and Eusebia.

During the next two years more emigrants arrived, and it was toward the close of that period when the most notable accessions of the Gimbsheim revival joined the Pennsylvania Community. This was brought about by the glowing accounts of the religious and civil conditions of Pennsylvania which were sent to the Palatinate by the party led by Peter Beissel. Carried away by these missives, a number of the awakened, under the leadership of Johann Heinrich Lohman and Johann Jacob Kimmel, merchants and prominent men in their native place, left the Palatinate and came to Pennsylvania on the good ship "St. Andrew." The party landed in Philadelphia, September 14, 1751, where fruitless attempts were made by some of the Orthodox Germans to discourage the leaders from joining the Ephrata settlement. In December the following leaders of the Gimbsheim revival were baptized and received into the congregation: Johann Heinrich Lohman and wife; Jeremiah Niess and wife Anna Elizabeth; and Valentine Heinrich and wife Anna Elizabeth. Upon the following Christmas day Lohman, who was a man of some means, gave a general love-feast to which both Solitary and seculars were invited.

The advent of these German leaders at Ephrata caused more or less trouble in the settlement, as they failed to acknowledge Beissel as the absolute autocrat. The first op-

position manifested itself when Jacob Kimmel and several others refused to submit to rebaptism by Beissel. Threats were even made to leave the settlement. However, by the time spring came around again their scruples were overcome and they all submitted to the rules, when they and their families were immersed by Beissel in the pool of the Cocalico.

During the next autumn Kimmel and his adherents again became dissatisfied, and he with a number of others moved to York county beyond the Susquehanna, where they settled on the Bermudian creek, a stream which has its source on the South mountain, in the extreme northern part of York (now Adams) county, and after a southeasterly course empties into the Conawago. The whole valley of this little stream was known as Bermudian (Permutchin) and was the first settlement of Germans west of the Susquehanna, although the settlements of the Lutheran and Reformed Church in this region go back as early as 1732. It was in this locality that Kimmel determined to establish a branch of the Ephrata Kloster, and preach a revival among the Germans in that valley. So favorable did the conditions appear that almost all the married people from the Gimbsheim revival followed Kimmel to the Bermudian, and before twelve months had passed the settlement in York county was a flourishing community. His troubles, however, were not ended, as he lost his wife by death during the next year (1753). This misfortune, according to the Ephrata diary, "subjected him to severe temptations, since a second marriage was neither agreeable to his mind nor permitted according to apostolic church-government."

When the Brethren became aware of Brother Kimmel's trouble, they received him back into the Brotherhood, so that he lived with them in Bethania for more than thirty years as a widower. (d. November 25, 1784).

The Bermudian settlement, in the meantime, was without any leader. Here Beissel again saw the hand of Providence and his own opportunity. He had but little use at Ephrata for Heinrich Lohman. As he was a strong leader, revivalist and exhorter, Beissel saw in him a possible competitor, and feared that the Eckerlin history might repeat itself. He therefore sent for Brother Lohman, and represented to him how great a want there was of faithful laborers in the vineyard of God, and how important it was for him to give himself up entirely to the service of God and his neighbors. Then he proposed to him that he should move to the waters of the Bermudian. "For," he said, "here I cannot any longer break bread with you, but when I seek you at the Bermudian I shall find you again, and can then without difficulty break bread with you."[122]

Brother Lohman naturally looked upon Beissel with suspicion at this talk, wondering what pitfall was being dug for him, and the end of the conference between the two ended anything but harmoniously.

After some consideration, however, Lohman eventually submitted to the Superintendent's counsel, and accepted the proffered charge of the Bermudian settlement. Under his leadership the little community increased its members, and, as he was a man of great natural gifts and common sense, the settlement grew until, in a spiritual sense, it was equal if not more devout than the parent institution on the Cocalico.

Lohman was later joined and assisted for a time by George Adam Martin, and official visits from Beissel and the Ephrata Solitary were not uncommon. A description of one of these visits will appear in a subsequent chapter. A regular correspondence was maintained between the communities. Fortunately, one of Beissel's letters to Lohman has been preserved to us, and is now in possession of the

[122] *Chronicon Ephratense*, Chap. xxviii.

writer. It was sent in answer to an appeal by Lohman for advice in reference to the Indian incursions in that vicinity during the French and Indian War of 1755–58.

The Bermudian community was particularly exposed to sudden attacks by the savages, although the barrier of the South Mountain shielded the early settlers of the Bermudian valley from the savage incursions that desolated the Cumberland valley, yet occasionally a party more daring than the rest would push across the mountain and murder or carry defenceless families into captivity.[123]

It was after one of these incursions that Lohman wrote to Beissel for aid and advice. The latter replied with a long theosophical epistle dated 9, 2 mo. 1756, in which he says:

"Concerning the cry about war that is with you, of such is the whole land full. That it is so is by the anger of the judgment of God, caused by the turning away from the laws of the highest. For the power of God hath issued from its habitation to make all the inhabitants of this world to tremble, of which the present exigency is the beginning," etc.[124]

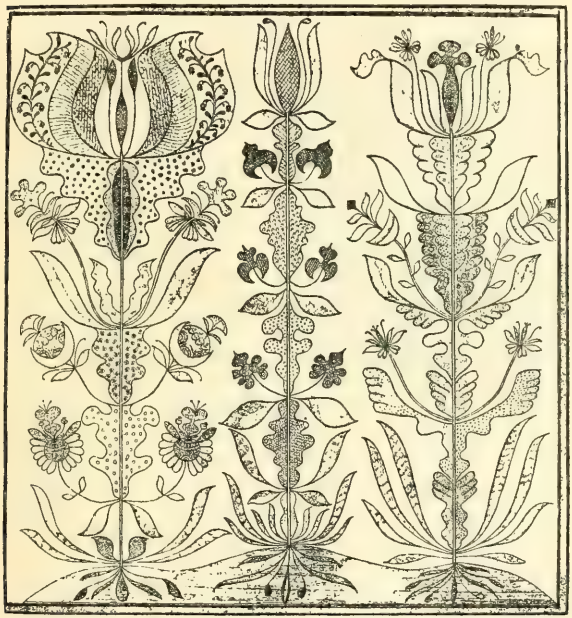
Fortunately our little community of devout Germans on the Bermudian escaped the tomahawk, torch and scalping-knife of the Indians, and flourished for a number of years, without, however, making any great gains from the surrounding settlers, as both Lutheran and Reformed congregations were organized among the pioneer settlers, and were served by regular ministers from Germany.

Heinrich Lohman and his wife died within three days of each other, and were both laid in the same grave. After the death of the leader, the little community dwindled away and was gradually absorbed by the Antietam congregation and the parent stem at Ephrata.

[123] A narrative describing an instance of this kind will be found in Day's *Historical Collections*, pp. 62, 63.

[124] Original in the collection of the writer.

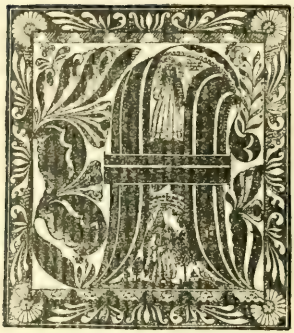
All vestige of this theosophical community in old York county has long since passed away; even its very existence is shrouded in oblivion. Perhaps these lines may be the means of bringing forth from their hiding-place some documents or records throwing further light upon the *laager* on the Bermudian.



ORNAMENTAL PEN WORK FROM SPECIMEN BOOK "DES CHRISTEN A, B, C."

# CHAPTER XIII.

## CONRAD WEISER.



AMONG the prominent characters who figure in the history of the Germans in Pennsylvania during the middle of the eighteenth century none has received greater nor more merited attention than John Conrad Weiser, for a time Brother Enoch of the Ephrata Community.

He has been written up from various standpoints by both admirer and opponent, and yet his true personal history in what was one of the most important epochs of his eventful life remains to be told. His great services to the government as an Indian interpreter are matters of record. His influence among the Germans in the Province and the great factor he became in shaping the political course of the German element is attested by the literature of the day, showing that his broadsides and addresses were scattered far and wide among the settlers from the Fatherland and their descendants, all of which received due consideration.

With his political, official and military life we have nought to do in the present instance. It is not the writer's intention to add another "life" of Conrad Weiser to the already overcrowded field. The object is merely to place on record such facts as relate to Conrad Weiser before he became infatuated with political and judicial preferment, when as Brother Enoch he was in communion with the Ephrata movement, and to present additional facts and incidents which have thus far either escaped attention or have been intentionally overlooked or suppressed.

Johann Conrad Weiser, the subject of this chapter, was born November 2, 1696, in the little village of Astaet, district of Herrnberg in Würtemburg. He received his father's name; his mother was Anna Magdalena Uebelen. His grandfather, Jacob Weiser, was the *Schuldheis* (presiding judge of the local court) of Gross Anspach.

Young Weiser's mother died when he was in his thirteenth year. Bereft of his wife the elder Weiser conceived the plan of emigrating to America with his seven younger children. The party arrived at New York, June 13, 1710, and were among the party of Palatines sent to Loebenstein's (Livingstone) Manor to burn tar and raise hemp.

It is not necessary for our purpose to follow young Weiser's career while in New York, suffice it to say that on November 22, 1720, he married his "Anna Eva" as he calls her, the ceremony being performed at his father's house by Johann Fredrick Heger, a Reformed pastor.

At this time trouble was rife between the English authorities and the German settlers in the Schoharie district; this ended by some of the Germans being forcibly dispossessed of their holdings, others again moved farther inland, near Stone Arabia above the falls of the Mohawk river, or else paid sums of money to their oppressors for release of their lands. Others again, upon an alleged invitation of Governor Keith of Pennsylvania, turned their attention southward to

central Pennsylvania, it is said under the leadership or advice of the elder Weiser. Young Conrad in his autobiography makes the following entry:

"The people got news of the land on the Swatara and Tulpehocken in Pennsylvania; many of them united and cut a road from Schochary to the Susquehanna river, carrying their goods there, and made canoes, and floated down the river to the mouth of the Swatara creek, and drove their cattle overland. This happened in the spring of the year 1723. From there they came to Tulpehocken, and this was the beginning of the Tulpehocken settlement. Others followed this party and settled there at first also, without the permission of the Proprietary of Pennsylvania or his commissioners; also against the consent of the Indians, from whom the land had not yet been purchased. There was no one among these people to govern them, each one did as he pleased, and their obstinacy has stood in their way ever since."

Whether the elder Weiser was the actual leader of this movement is an open question. It was not until six years later, 1729, that our Conrad journeys to, and settles on the Tulpehocken, establishing his permanent residence on a plantation of almost a thousand acres about half a mile east of the present town of Womelsdorf. His immediate family consisted of his wife and their four children:

Philip; born September 7, 1722; baptized by Rev. John B. van Dieren; [m. November 22, 1748; Sophia, dau. Peter Riem; d. March 27, 1761.]

Anna Madlina; born January 13, 1725; baptized by John Jacob Oehl, a Reformed pastor; [d. at Ephrata, March 16, 1741–2].

Maria Anna; born June 24, 1727; baptized by William Chr. Birkenmeyer, a Lutheran pastor; [m. Apr. 22, 1765, to Rev. H. M. Mühlenberg; d. Aug. 23, 1802.]

Frederick; born December 24, 1728; baptized by Rev. J. B. van Dieren; [m. Dec. 3, 1751, Amelia Zaeller; d. 1760.]



JONH CONRAD WEISER.

BORN, NOVEMBER 2, 1696; DIED, JULY 13, 1760.



ANNA EVE, WIFE OF COLONEL JOHN CONRAD WEISER.

"A CHRISTIAN PERSON OF EVANGELICAL PARENTAGE."

BORN JANUARY [illegible], 1663. DIED SEPTEMBER [illegible], 1741.

It will be noted that all of the above offspring of Conrad Weiser were regularly baptized according to the orthodox faith. In his new home Weiser settled down to the prosaic occupation of a tiller of the soil. Just what his earliest church connections were in his new home, whether he affiliated with the Lutheran or Reformed side at Tulpehocken, is not known. However, after Rev. Peter Miller supplanted Rev. Philip Boehm in the Reformed charge we find Conrad Weiser as the chief elder of the Tulpehocken Reformed congregation.

During this period five children were born to Weiser:

Peter; born February 27, 1730.
Christopher, Jacob, } twins; born February 15, 1731.
[Christopher lived 15 weeks; Jacob, 13 weeks].
Elizabeth; born June 19, 1732; [d. 1736].
Margaret; born January 28, 1734; [m. 1st, Rev. J. D. M. Heintzelman; 2d, —— Finker, a Roman Catholic].

The above children were presumably baptized in the Reformed faith by Rev. Peter Miller. No record, however, of their baptism has ever been found, nor does Weiser make any mention of it, while he particularly notes the fact in connection with those born at Schoharie.

We now come to the year 1735, when Conrad Weiser made what his biographer calls a "religious somersault" and became incorporated by baptism with the Ephrata Community.

There can be but little doubt that when Conrad Weiser passed over into the Ephrata Community he did so in the full conviction that it was the right and proper thing for him to do to insure his soul's salvation. It could not have been a mere passing delusion or infatuation, nor done under the spur of the moment. The question, momentous as it was, must have been well considered by that sturdy,

level-headed pioneer before he took the final step, and when he finally went over to the *Beisselianer* he carried his family along with him.

His eldest son Peter and daughter Madlina both entered the celibate branches of the Ephrata institution. The former became Brother Theobald, while Madlina died in the sister-house during her novitiate.

From the meagre data and indications at our disposal, Weiser's wife, Anna Eva, evidently was less infatuated with the ascetic movement than her strong-minded husband, so it was not long before we find her, together with some of her children, back on the plantation in Heidelberg, which in the interval had been left in the charge of strangers and possibly one of their younger children, while the father, so emaciated and haggard by fasting and vigils that he was hardly recognizable, went about through the country as an evangelist and exhorter.

During his connection with the Ephrata Community, Conrad Weiser had four children born to him, although he was supposed to have separated from his wife:

Samuel; born April 23, 1735.
Benjamin; born July 18, 1736, [lived but three months.]
Jaebez; born August 11, 1740, [lived 17 days.]
Hanna; born February 27, 1742, [died August 11, 1742.]

The above statement of Weiser's separation from his wife is further proven by the entry in Acrelius' account of his visit to the Kloster, where he states:

"During the time that Conrad Weiser lived among them, he once took the liberty of visiting his own house and family in another place [Heidelberg, in Berks county]. But upon his return, after a strict examination, he had to submit to a severe punishment for having slept with his own wife, which he willingly underwent.[125]

[125] *History of New Sweden*, by Israel Acrelius, p. 399.

How Weiser, as Brother Enoch, together with Jaebez and Onesimus, were consecrated to the priesthood, and had conferred upon them the order of Melchizedek, has already been told, also how for a time Weiser acted as the spiritual director of the Tulpehocken converts.

It was evidently when Conrad Weiser's religious enthusiasm was at its height that the bauble was thrown before him which was to mark another turning point in the kaleidoscope of his eventful life.

This was the offer of a Justiceship by Governor Thomas. The tempting bait was offered, and as it fostered the ambition of the man, was considered and finally taken.

How Brother Enoch eased his conscience, permitting him to renounce his religious professions for worldly honors, has already been told. His statement that he would only accept the office upon the condition that the congregation would permit, and the subsequent call for a council, was evidently a part of a scheme well founded upon the knowledge that Beissel was more or less jealous of Pater Enoch, and would be but too glad and willing to find some excuse for ridding himself of a possible rival, which he feared Weiser would eventually prove. Then again, there was not the best feeling between our sturdy pioneer and the ambitious Eckerlins.

Weiser in his determination to accept worldly honors was seconded by his friend, Prior Jaebez, who schooled the new Justice in the law as practiced in the Fatherland.

After Conrad Weiser received his commission as Justice in 1741, he forthwith assumed a prominent position in the political and Indian affairs of the Province. According to the Ephrata records:

As he (Brother Enoch) did not keep watch over himself, there grew from the root of enmity to God within him, which had not been killed, an antagonism against the Superintendent, which was the cause of his renouncing the testimony of God

again, and allowing himself to be taken up by the world. Since, however, God finally vindicated His glory in him, and through many circuitous by-ways brought him back to his first love and the wife of his youth, we do not hesitate to incorporate in this history so much as belongs here of the mistakes and circumstances of this remarkable man. As he possessed great natural talents in matters pertaining to the government of the land, and, besides, was Indian interpreter, having been adopted into one of their tribes, so that the country could neither wage war nor make peace with the Indian without him, everybody was sorry that so useful a man should have allowed himself to be fooled so.

Wherefore Governor Thomas, who then was ruler, and who well understood the art of dissimulation, took measures to bring him over to his side again, to cope with which the good brother was by no means competent. Having made a favorable impression on the brother (Conrad Weiser), he now tendered him the office of a Justice of the Peace, which the brother would no doubt have gladly accepted if it were not against the principles of his people.

It is not to be understood that Weiser and his family severed their connection entirely with the Ephrata Community upon his accession to the justiceship and the return to his farm and family at Heidelberg. This is further shown by the entry in the Ephrata registers of the death of his daughter, Anna Madlina, March 16, 1741–42, who is said to have been a novice in the sister-house, a statement which is partly borne out by Weiser's entry of her death in his own diary:

The 16th of March of this year (1741-42) my dear daughter, Madlina, went from time to eternity, through an easy death, after a long and tedious illness. Her faith, consolation and refuge was in the crucified Saviour, Jesus Christ, whom she had vowed herself to in the days of health, with soul and body.

As a matter of fact, it was not until after Weiser's acquaintance and friendship with the lately arrived pastor, Mühlenberg, had ripened into an intimacy that Weiser sent a formal letter of withdrawal to the Ephrata authorities, wherein he renounces his allegiance. This missive, a copy of which he retained, is now in the temporary possession of the writer. It is dated September 3, 1743, and appears to have been chiefly aimed against the Eckerlins and their methods:

*Worthy and Dear Friends and Brethren:*

It cannot be denied at Ephrata that I and several other members of the community, partly gone to their rest, partly still living, were compelled to protest for a considerable time against the domination of conscience, the suppression of innocent minds, against the prevailing pomp and luxury, both in dress and magnificent buildings; but we achieved about as much as nothing; on the contrary, in spite of all protests, this practice was still more eagerly continued, and following the manner of the world, the attempt was made to cover such pride and luxury with the man of God. It was most zealously defended, so that for years nothing has been heard in public assemblies but the boast, "*There the work stands; it is the work of God*," as if it were the first Babylonian masterpiece. Whole assemblies were held in honor of the loathsome idolatry, while the leaders have indulged in the most fulsome self-praise by all kinds of fictitious stories.

For these and other reasons, which I reserve for myself to state them at a fitting opportunity, I take leave of your young but already decrepit sect, and I desire henceforth to be treated as a stranger, especially by you, the presiding officers (superintendents), whenever I should come to Ephrata because of business or other personal inclinations, or should meet you somewhere else. You will no doubt know how to instruct, as usual, the other, partly innocent, minds, as to what they have to consider me. I make a distinction between them and you, and hope the time will come when they shall be liberated from their physical and spiritual bondage, as also from the thraldom

of conscience, under which they are groaning. I protest once more against you, the overseers, who feed yourselves and do not spare the flock, but scatter and devour them. * * * * I hope the end is near and the deliverance has come. Of course I know beforehand that you will not consider my words, especially since I am not the son of a prophet or a prophet myself, Nor do I appeal to a spirit in my head or body as the cause of this letter, but my conclusions are founded upon the eternal truth and the reasonableness of the thing itself. I am in earnest ; you may ridicule me as much as you please.

Herewith I conclude and live in hope that the time will come when all knees shall bow before the name of Jesus, even those of such proud saints who publicly declare rather to burn in hell than bow before Him.

Why does thou extol thyself, O poor earth? The judgment of God can humble thee in a moment. Do it rather willingly; it is no disgrace, for the heathen are His inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth His possession. He is a King of all kings and a Lord of all lords. Worship, majesty and power belong to Him, for the Father has made all things subject to Him. He will give His honor to no other, nor His glory to the mighty. He is the Lord, and beside Him there is no Savior.

If there is any one not satisfied with my statement, let him convince me of the contrary. Victory belongs to truth. The authority of man has no power. To be silent is good at times, but in this case it would be bad. If you have anything to say in your defense, or undertaken a reformation, let me know, for I shall be glad to hear it.

Finally, I remain a friend of truth and sincerity, and of all those who love them, but a sworn enemy of all lies and hypocrisy. Farewell.

September 3, 1743. CONRAD WEISER.

Agrippa further says :

For a time favorable winds blew for him after this, and he could be seen as Chief Justice of court seated beneath the crown, wearing his accustomed beard ; at length, however, his

office came to occupy him so much that he became estranged from his brethren. He first and most severely took offence at his tried friend, the Superintendent himself, of which the latter was himself the cause, for he loved the good brother more than he could bear. He was indeed more than once repaid for his love in such coin, so that he used to say, that he trusted no one until he had been aggrieved by him. The occasion for his being offended, Conrad Weiser took from a remark of the Superintendent, who told him that once, when he stood in the breach for a deceased brother, the blood was forced from his finger nails; from which he inferred that the Superintendent must think himself to be Christ.

The *Chronicon* also quotes a missive from Weiser, unfortunately without date:

"Conrad Weiser, your former Brother, has the following to say to you in this writing, on behalf of the poor sighing souls, of whom there are not a few among you, who are groaning day and night unto God because of the heavy Pharaohic and Egyptian bond-service with which the congregation is so heavily laden and burdened that it scarcely can endure it any longer. Besides which, this bond-service is much worse than the Egyptian; for the latter was for the payment of debts, but with that under which the congregation is in bondage no debts can be paid. Yea, what am I saying? Pay? The more one lets oneself come under this service, the more one sinks into debt. But they who withdraw from it, because they see that no debts can be paid with this bond-service, and that one cannot fulfill it so long as one lives, are refused fellowship as though they were evil-doers, and are even expelled from the congregation, etc."

Moreover he advised that a reformation be commenced in the church, which was very necessary, and said that if he were given word of it, he would come and help reform the church. The Superintendent made this letter known, but it was not taken into consideration, for every one knew that it had been written during temptation and with no good purpose.

Shortly after Weiser's resignation he issued a warrant, at the instance of Abraham Paul and one Merkel, against Conrad Beissel, in a case in which Anna Eicher also appeared.

Jaebez and Onesimus at once went to see the Justice and implored him for God's sake not to imbrue himself in innocent blood, to whom he also promised, if it were possible, to withdraw the matter. But the Governor it appears wrote to him that he should give the witness another hearing, and then bring the case before the court at Lancaster. The attempt to impeach Beissel, however, ended in failure. The diarist of the community continues:

"As this attempt failed, he [Conrad Weiser] again sought out those who had been his acquaintances before his conversion [evidently the Lutheran clergy are here meant], who rejoiced over him exceedingly, and in all things put him at the head; although there was little cause for rejoicing over one whose conversion had been such a failure. He may have formed many plans at that time to bring to nought the judgement of God against fallen man. Once he tried to prove in writing that Adam had been created for nothing higher than the natural life; that God had offered him a higher destiny under certain conditions, which was to be attained if these latter were fulfilled, but if not, then he would remain as he had been created. This effort, however, never saw the light of day, as no one gave any countenance to it."

After this all remembrance of him ceased in the settlement though various offices in the worldly life were heaped upon him.

Conrad Weiser, after his resignation from the Ephrata congregation and the assumption of judicial honors, also held the office of Ranger for northern Lancaster county, whose duty it was to impound all horses and cattle found roaming loose in the upper part of the county. This proceeding frequently brought him into angry conflict with the Germans whose cattle he impounded. This office

together with his legal rulings and a somewhat overbearing demeanor almost brought on a tragedy.

During the summer of 1744, the new justice and ranger it appears, got into some kind of a controversy with the Han (Hän) family, who belonged to the Ephrata congregation, which ended in Weiser holding one of the family to appear before court.

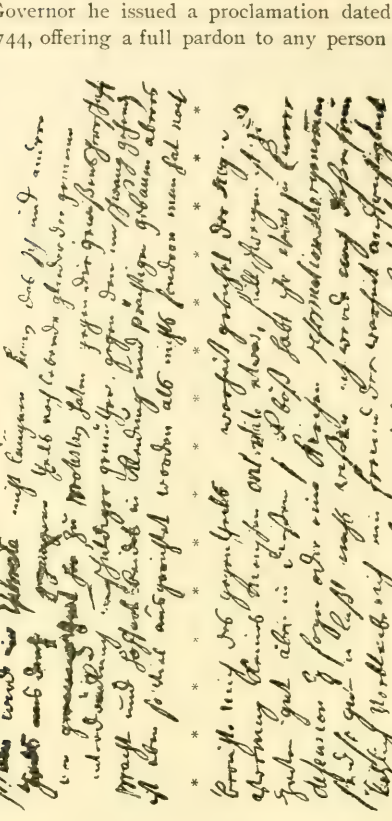
In the fall of the same year, October 15–16, 1744, about one o'clock in the morning an attempt was made by some of his enemies to rid the community of the arbitrary justice. For this purpose several persons upon the night in question stealthily surrounded the house, wherein Weiser, his family and several strangers were asleep. They proceeded to fasten the doors and windows on the lower floor, then they went to the stable for straw and dry corn-fodder, this was piled on the porch roof and around the house, after which they set it on fire. The dry material was soon ablaze, and as the roof of the house was a straw thatch, the upper part of the house was soon afire. The smoke aroused one of the sons sleeping in the loft, who at once gave the alarm; a rush was made for the door, which proved to have been securely fastened; a window, however, was fortunately forced, and the inmates escaped, and forming a bucket brigade from spring to house fortunately were able to extinguish the fire.

Among the persons in the house and who made a narrow escape, was Weiser's wife and her two months' old son Benjamin.[126]

Who the perpetrators of this dastardly outrage were, has never been definitely determined. Suspicion, however, seemed to point to the Han family and a warrant was issued for Adam Han, who, however, evaded the constable and escaped. When the account of this outrage reached

[126] Two children were born to Conrad Weiser after he left the Ephrata Community, viz.: Hannah, b. February 27, 1742; d. August 11, 1742. Benjamin, b. August 12, 1744.

the Governor he issued a proclamation dated November 28, 1744, offering a full pardon to any person who would



Fragment of Weiser's Letter of Resignation.—*Vide* pp. 281-82.

give information whereby the criminals might be brought to justice. The proclamation, which was attested by Richard Peters as Secretary, does not appear to have had any effect,

as there is no record that the perpetrators were ever caught or brought to justice.

Mention has already been made of Weiser's intimacy with the Lutherans after the arrival of Rev. Mühlenberg and the latter's marriage to the justice's daughter. Previous to this intimacy Weiser had become quite friendly with the Moravian missionaries. As soon, however, as he found that the movement of the newcomers among the Indians would prove a permanent success, he almost immediately turned against them. In the Moravian diaries we find some interesting entries covering this period of Weiser's activity:

1747, March 23. Weiser has become a zealot for the Lutheran church and its uniformity. He dislikes us because of our success with the Indians, fearing he may be the loser thereby. This is *causa occulata* of his attitude.

As time progressed Weiser's political ambition grew and he aspired for legislative honors, and announced himself as a candidate. The Bethlehem diaries again tell us the story:

"Election for Assemblymen held all over the Province, October 12, Weiser wanted to be elected, Lutherans all electioneered for him and he canvassed for himself, but he got only four hundred votes, and lost the election. Two Quakers got in."

In the meantime Pastor Mühlenberg had married Weiser's daughter Anna Maria, a circumstance which for a time drew our Conrad still closer to the faith of his fathers, and he became quite active in church affairs in the Tulpehocken district. Bishop Cammerhoff has left the following interesting letter giving Weiser's own account of what is known in history as the "Tulpehocken confusion."[127]

[127] 1747, June 29. May 26, went to C. Weiser and talked with him about the late trouble at Tulpehocken. He began his story with what had occurred in Leibecker's and Stover's times—that he had always sought

Cammerhoff also mentions in his diary that Weiser wrote and inserted the article in Sauer's paper of October 10, 1747, and that it was full of lies.

As Conrad Weiser advanced in years his ambition seemed to increase, thus after his defeat for the Assembly he became active in military affairs, and got a commission as captain and then recruited a company for the Canadian expedition, in what was known as Governor Shirley's war.

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to cement the unity of all Lutherans. For this purpose he had asked Zinzendorf for one preacher for all. Hereupon several, such as Caspar Reith, Michael Schaeffer, Michael Reith, etc., went and got a deed for the land on which the old church stood, demolished it and built a new one, and these were the only people we had given a pastor. The other Lutherans had borne this long in quiet, but would bear it no longer, but would institute suit for possession of the church, and said he, with right, for it belonged to them, as they had built and worshipped in the old church, before the land had all been bought or taken up. Reiths *et al.* were pirates, robbers, etc. He told me to tell them to give up the church, that if we did, they would at once give it up, etc. The holders of the deed were Michael Schaeffer, John Schaeffer, Fred. Schaeffer, C. Reith, George Loesch, Michael Reith and others. After these having bought the land it was not theirs individually but held forever for the Lutheran congregation of Philip Meurer's at Tulpehocken.

He went on and said that the old church had been built in 1727 by all the settlers—then the six seceded and thus got illegal possession of the premises.

(Cammerhoff remarks that John and Fred. Schaeffer seceded from the other four and were at the bottom of the trouble and got Weiser to back them.) Said I, you see the other four are legal owners. Next he said, they are not Lutherans but Moravians. Weiser was stubborn—Cammerhoff sharp—Weiser angry at times—then appealed to us for the sake of our reputation—said he had consulted William Allen and Richard Peters and they thought he was right. Next talked discoursingly, said he would not belong to any sect, as he was a Justice of the peace, etc. Finally asked him, how it was, that for five years everything had been harmonious—no trouble about the church? Weiser and his party began the trouble in this way: John and Fred. Schaeffer rented the school-house, which stands on the church lot, to a vagabond. He went and forcibly opened the doors and took possession of the church. The Weisers and five of the Deacons of the Tulpehocken of the upper church came to the house and declared that the man should have the house for one year at five shillings rent. Weiser said if any one objected they should come to him.

When the new town of Reading was projected, Conrad Weiser was appointed one of three commissioners for the purpose of making a prompt sale of the lots laid out. This was in June, 1749. As the thriving village sprung into existence, provision was made by the Germans of the Lutheran and Reformed faiths for separate churches. The first to organize were the Lutherans, who built an humble sanctuary on what is now the corner of Sixth and Washington streets. It was dedicated under the name of the "Church of the Holy Trinity," June 17, 1753, upon which occasion Conrad Weiser, as one of the trustees of the congregation, presented a dedicatory poem of thirteen stanzas. Following is a translation of the first two:[128]

Jehovah, Lord and Mighty One!
Hear, Thou, our childlike calls;
To all who stand before Thy face
Within these sacred walls,
Incline, dear Lord, Thy gracious ear.
Nor cast aside our fervent prayer,
For sake of Thy dear Name.

The people of Thy covenant
Now consecrate this place;
Reveal, O Lord, from out the cloud
The splendors of Thy face,
That it may flood this house with light,
And banish evil from our sight,
For sake of Thy dear name.

A year later the Reformed brethren obtained title to a lot upon the opposite corner, and erected a small church, wherein Conrad Weiser appears both as an elder and a member of the building committee. His erratic course in congregational matters seem to verify the deductions of his biographer[129] that "His spiritual activity seems to be all circumference without centre. He is all things to all men, without anything to himself, in a religious sense."

[128] Translation by Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman of Reading.
[129] Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D.D.

About the year 1750–1, Conrad Weiser removed to the new town, where we find him as proprietor of the principal hotel in the place. This was a stone building at the corner of Main (Penn) and Callowhill (Fifth) streets, and was known as the "Wigwam," in addition he kept a general stock of goods for sale and trade with the Indians. He also posed as the local agent for the Halle Apothecary, whose remedies he dispensed among the Germans of this district. One of the statements of account between Weiser and Pastor Peter Brunnholtz, who was the general agent for the Province, is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

This interesting document dated April 13, 1752, shows that Weiser at that time was indebted to the Halle institution to the extent of seven pounds; it reads:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| M. Conrad Weiser debit to the Orphanage Apothecary at Halle as per enclosed account. Sub Lit. a | | | 20 Rthlr. |
| These 20 Rthlr. amount after we add former draft of £1. 1sh. sterling accounted a 6 Rthlr. | | | £5.13.4d. |
| Traveling expenses [freight?] to me. | | | 10 |
| | | | 6. 3. 4. |
| Additional, Mr. Weiser, April 13, 1752. | | | |
| 7 Pulvis vitalis, | 3 sh. | | |
| 1 Loth [half-ounce] Essentia dulcis, | 6. | 6. | |
| 6 Pulvis vitalis, | 3. | | |
| 2 Loth Bezoardicus[130] | 2. | | |
| May 7, ¼ Loth [1 drachm] Essentia dulcis,[131] | 2. | 2. | 16. 8. |
| | Summa | | £7. |

Philadelphia, July 9, 1753.

PETER BRUNNHOLTZ.

Oct'r, 1753.

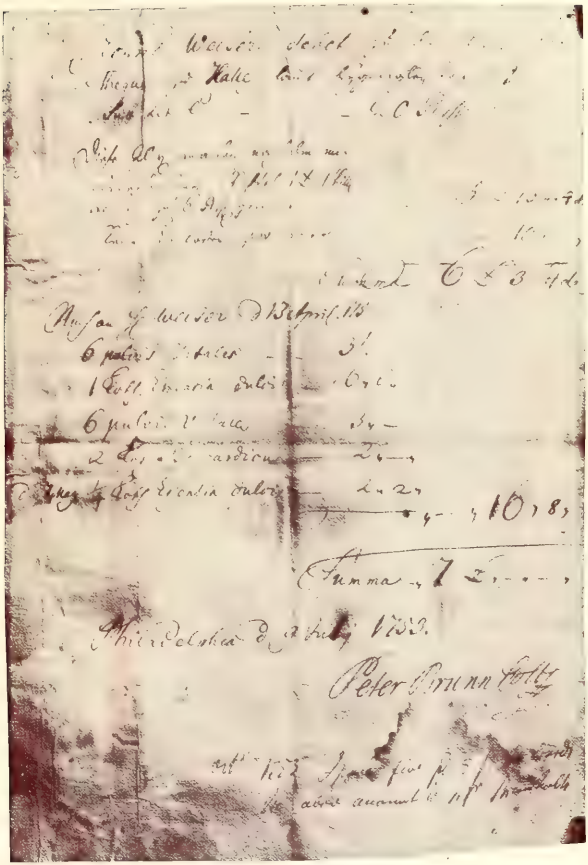
I paid five pd. towards the above account to Mr. Brunnholtz.

A fac-simile of this interesting account is also presented.

That Conrad Weiser still had a leaning towards the Ephrata movement, notwithstanding his apparent championship

[130] Bezoard Powders.

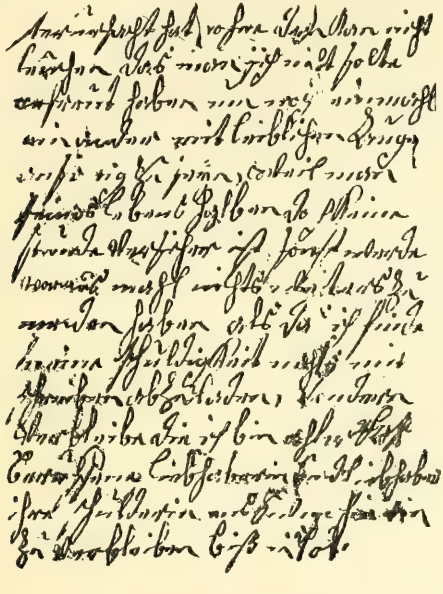
[131] For the properties of these remedies see Madai's *Short Account*, Halle, 1784.



INVOICE FOR HALLE REMEDIES.

ORIGINAL IN HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

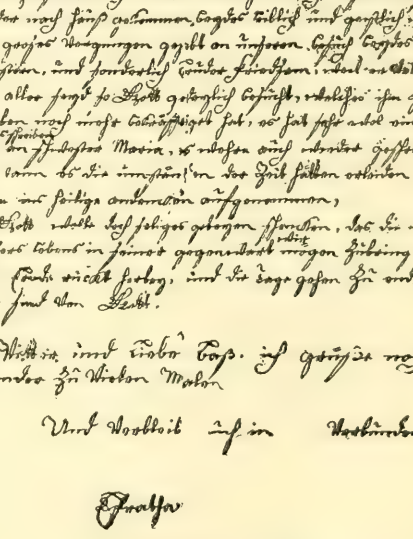
of the Lutherans, is shown by the visits and correspondence maintained between the Justice and members of both of the celibate orders. His relatives were still faithful members in Saron, and his personal friendship and intercourse with



Fragment of Letter Written to Weiser by Prioress Maria.

Prior Jaebez was never interrupted. When any legal aid was wanted, the appeal was always made to Weiser and never refused. Thus after old Henrich Hagamann died and the Seymour forgeries came to light, it was Weiser and

Jaebez who together set the matter right before the courts, and saved some of the property for the rightful heirs. Correspondence upon this case between Jaebez and Weiser, under date of June 11, 1753, together with another missive dated November 30, 1757, also of legal import, are in the collection of the writer.



Sister Flavia's Letter to Weiser.

Among the personal correspondence of Weiser with inmates of the Kloster examined by the writer there was one letter from Sister Flavia, dated January 16, 1759, in which she calls him and his wife cousin (*lieber Vetter und liebe*

*Bass*). Another was from Prioress Maria, thanking him for a book sent her at the hand of his son [evidently Brother Theobald, Philip Weiser]. This letter was written shortly after one of Conrad Weiser's visits to the Kloster.

That at one time the breach between Beissel and Weiser was a serious one cannot be denied—that they eventually became reconciled is equally true. The tradition that Weiser in the latter years of his life was again received into the full communion of the Brethren is strengthened by the following notice in the *Chronicon:*

"Meanwhile, however, God, in view of his earlier faithfulness in the work of God, bore him in mind, and opened the door of his long spiritual captivity, so that he visited first of all his old friend Peter Miller [Jaebez] at the Settlement. And when he noticed that no one passed severe judgement upon him, he also hunted up the Superintendent, who soon became aware that the good once done for him had not been in vain, and received him with open arms of love, taking him into the Sisters' house, where his old acquaintances rejoiced with him that he had found again his piece of silver that had been lost. Soon after the congregation assembled for a love-feast, at which he by partaking of the holy sacraments was recorporated into the spiritual communion; although we willingly yield to his mother church the honor of having garnered in his body."

It is another noteworthy fact that no record can be found that Weiser's younger children were baptized in their infancy.

Conrad Weiser's eldest son Philip (Brother Theobald) also left the Ephrata Community some time after his father, and was associated with him in the events of the French and Indian war; he also served as a soldier in Captain Busse's company. November 22, 1748, he married Sophia, daughter of Peter Riem, by whom he had four children, one of which was named after Prior Jaebez. There is evidence to show that Philip, like his father,

did not sever his connection entirely with the Community when he left the Kloster. He inherited his father's homestead, but did not live long to enjoy his heritage. His death is entered in the register: "Brother Theobald or Philip Weiser, March 27, 1761."

Conrad Weiser died Sunday, July 13, 1760, on his farm at Heidelberg. He had left his home in Reading the day before in his average health, but soon after his arrival was seized with a violent attack of colic which ended his life.




DISPLAY PLACARD OF HALLE REMEDIES SOLD BY CONRAD WEISER, *Vide* p. 290.

On the following Tuesday (July 15th) he was buried in the family burial plot on his farm, beside several of his young children and, as tradition states, a number of Indians who had died at different times while on visits to him.

His funeral was a simple one, according to the Lutheran ritual. The sermon was preached by Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, pastor of the Tulpehocken church, on the two-fold text of Genesis xv: 15 and Psalm lxxxiv: 11, 12; the latter, by a strange coincidence, being one of the mottoes of the

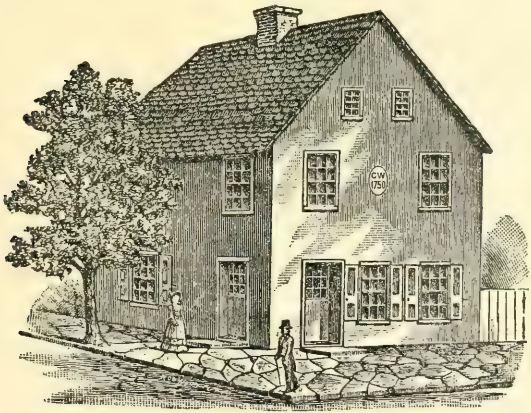
Ephrata celibates. We have no record of any attendance of the Brethren from the Kloster at the funeral of the former Brother Enoch. This absence may be accounted for by the fact that the weather was exceedingly hot, and as but comparatively a few hours intervened between his sudden death and burial there was hardly time for the *todesanzeiger* to traverse over much country. Under the circumstances it was even impossible to send word to his son-in-law, Rev. Pastor Mühlenberg, in time for the funeral.[132]

The two official entries in the Ephrata Register and Obadiah's Diary read respectively:

1760—The Friend or Brother Conrad Weiser.

1760—Brother Conrad Weiser a Justice.

[132] This condition will be understood when we consider that the news of Weiser's death did not reach Bethlehem until August 1st, or two weeks after he was buried, as is shown in the Moravian diaries.



Conrad Weiser's "Wigwam," Corner Fifth and Penn Streets, Reading.



## CHAPTER XIV.

### EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENTS.



UCH has been said in the course of our narrative of the educational features of the Ephrata Community. Looking backward to the Kelpius movement and the Hermits on the Ridge we find that one of the first concerns of the early Pietists in Pennsylvania was the education of youth. As Johannes Seelig writes in his first missive to Spener, under date of August 7, 1694:

"We are now beginning to build a house there [on the banks of the Wissahickon], and the people lend us all possible help. We place this to the public good, and expect not a foot's breadth on our own account. For we are resolved, besides giving public instruction to the little children of this country, to take many of them to ourselves and have them day and night with us, so as to lay in them the foundation of a stable, permanent character. With them a beginning must be made, otherwise there will be only mending and patching of the old people."

And this system of education was continued by Seelig and Matthäi after the death of the Magister in 1708.

A similar course was followed by Beissel upon his retirement to the Mill creek in 1721, where he instructed the children of the early settlers of the Conestoga valley. This movement has been fully set forth in a previous chapter.[133]

The organization of the educational department of the Ephrata Community may be said to date from the advent of Ludwig Höcker in the early spring of the year 1739. Höcker, it will be recalled, was one of the brethren who for a time lived on the banks of the Wissahickon, at a place still known as the Monastery. Ludwig Höcker, or Brother Obed as he is known in the Kloster records, was married and had one child, a daughter, Maria; after his entrance into the Community the couple divorced themselves, he entering the Zionitic Brotherhood, while the wife became Sister Albina and the daughter Sister Petronella.

Soon after his arrival Brother Obed was installed as the schoolmaster of the congregation, instructing the youth in the rudiments of education.

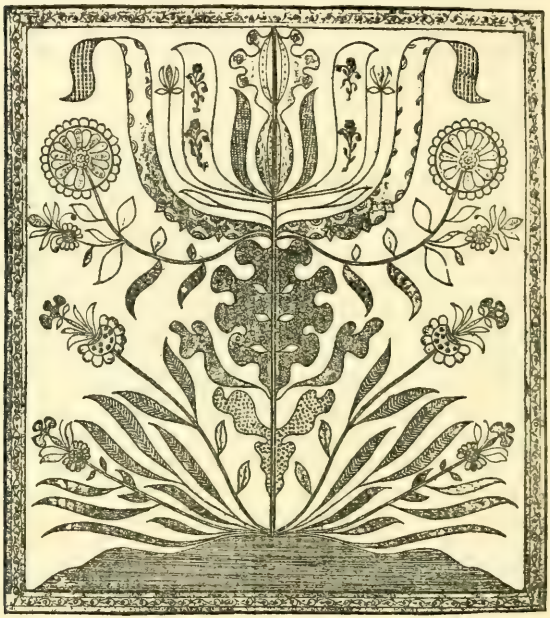
In the different buildings of the Kloster premises, regular hours were set apart by both sexes for instruction and the practice of caligraphy, ornamental penmanship, engrossing and the study and copying of music. Many specimens of the beautiful work done by the celibates have come down to us, some of which have been used to embellish the pages of this history.

It is uncertain who the writing-master was, or who originated the system and style peculiar to the Kloster. The *Chronicon* tells us that up to about the middle of the year 1741, "they had sought self-sacrifice in hard labor, but now the Superintendent was urged by his guide to establish higher schools, of which the singing-school was the

[133] Vol. I, p. 56.

beginning." How he conducted this school has already been told.

The first outcome of the singing-schools was a demand for music scores for the use of both celibates and the secular congregation. This formed the incentive for the cultiva-



THE MYSTICAL TULIP, POMGRANATE AND LILY OF EPHRATA.
Specimen of Pen Work.

tion of copying music. Great pains were taken in the transcribing and duplication of these compositions. The copy followed for the Ephrata music was an old German tune-book engraved on copper and printed at Augsburg.

So diligent was the practice, that soon the written books equalled and even surpassed the engraved prototype. Numerous specimens of this beautiful work are now cherished in public and private collections.

After a high state of proficiency had been reached by both sexes in this beautiful art, it was resolved at a general council, that both convents present Beissel with a worthy reward as a testimonial of filial esteem. This was to consist of two complete music-books, furnished for all voices, one of which was to be made by the society of the Brethren, the other by that of the Sisters. Both parties put their most skillful members to work upon the task. On the part of the Brethren three of them wrought at it for three-quarters of a year. It contained about 500 tunes for five voices; everything was artistically ornamented with the pen, and every leaf had its own head-piece. The Superintendent's name stood in front, skillfully designed in Gothic text, around it was a blessing added by each brother. The work of the Sisters was not less remarkable. It was artless and simple, but something wonderful shone forth from it, for which no name can be found.

This book is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A transcript made by Sister Hannah late in the eighteenth century is in the library of the writer.

The making of the music-books for the use of the congregation led to a cultivation of designs for ornamental letters and script for the heading of the tunes and melodies. For the lower case letters the usual German *Mönchsschrifft*, now known as German text, was used.

The next step was the establishment of the writing-school, where special attention was given to the production of writing in ornamental Gothic text, or *Fracturschrifft*. The *Chronicon* says that this department was instituted chiefly for the benefit of such of the celibates as had no musical

talent. It is said that Beissel personally designed the outlines of these beautiful letters, but that the shading and ornamentation of them was left to the pupil.

In the year 1750 a specimen book of these ornate letters was prepared. It is a folio of about 12 x 18 inches. Each of the capital letters occupying a full page.



SPECIMEN OF ORNATE FRACTUR INITIAL "O," FIRST ALPHABET.

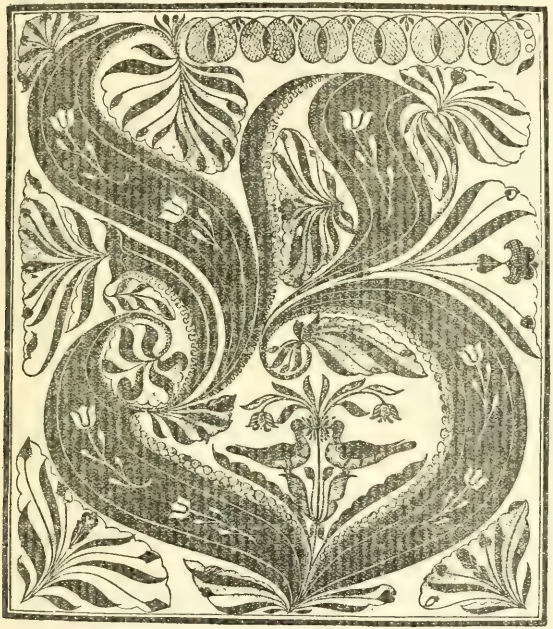
The title-page sets forth that

*The Christian's | A, B, C | is Suffering Endurance and Hope | who this has learned | He hath his Goal obtained | Ephrata MDCCL.*




TITLE-PAGE OF MANUSCRIPT SPECIMEN-BOOK OF THE EPHRATA KLOSTER.

The book contains two full alphabets of capitals. The first is highly ornamented. Each letter containing a vignette and having a broad border. The second alphabet consists of capitals less ornate and without borders. Then follow several sets of German lower case or Gothic letters, also numerals.



SPECIMEN OF PLAIN FRACTUR INITIAL "G," SECOND ALPHABET.

A script alphabet is also given. The latter were all made by the expert writers with a single flourish of the pen. In fact, each letter is but a single flourish. So ex-

pert did these men and women become in the art that it is doubtful if their work could be duplicated in any writing academy of the present day.

Several pages of ornamental designs complete the Christian's A, B, C. The old specimen book is now fast falling into decay owing to the corrosive character of the ink used. The formula in use was

Rainwater, 1 quart.
Gum Arabic, 2 ounces.
Gall nuts, 5 ounces.
Copperas, 3 ounces.

This was thinned with strong vinegar; long standing impaired the ink.

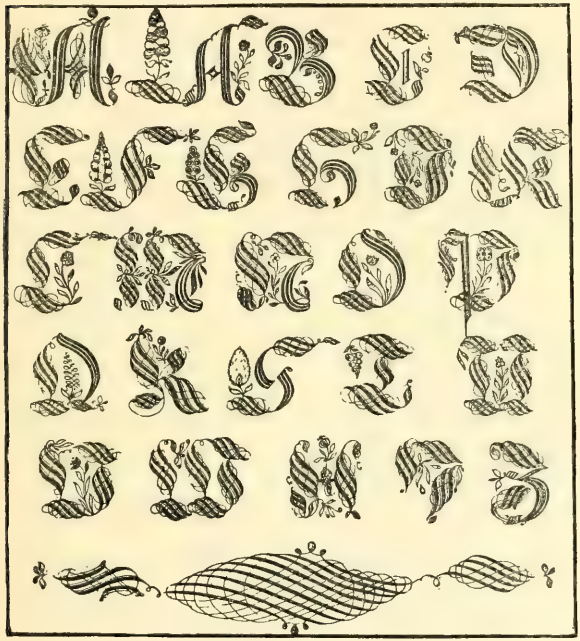
Negatives, however, have been made of the whole book by the writer, thus ensuring the preservation of the style, numerous specimens of which embellish these pages.

How this accomplishment was cultivated and brought to so high a state of perfection may be seen from the specimen tablets still hanging against the walls of the old Saal, now unfortunately discolored by age and deteriorated by the inroads of time; indeed, it may almost be said, crumbling into dust.

But little is known of the classical academy maintained at the Kloster. The Fahnestock MSS. distinctly states that a classical school was established there at an early period, "which soon gained for itself an honorable reputation abroad, and many young men of Philadelphia and Baltimore were sent to this nursery of learning to receive their entire education." It is further mentioned, upon the authority of John F. Watson, that "they were remarkable as a community, being fine Latinists, writing and speaking Latin as readily as their vernacular tongue. Men in Philadelphia who sought good classical education for their sons used to send them there; and," continues Watson, "I have known some who used to correspond with some who were

educated there who used to correspond with some of the Brethren in Latin."

Corroborative evidence is also given by Acrelius, where he tells how the authorities of the old Academy on Fourth

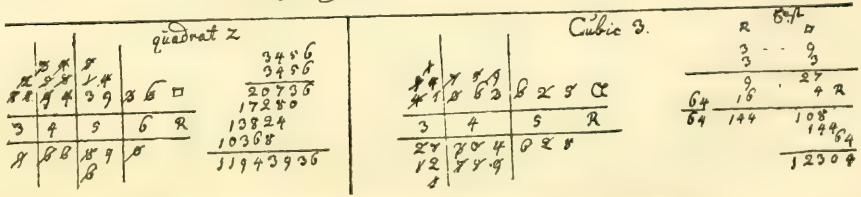


SCRIPT ALPHABET. EACH LETTER MADE WITH A SINGLE FLOURISH OF THE PEN.

Street, below Arch, in Philadelpia, made proposals to the Brotherhood to print an American edition of the classic authors for the Philadelphia Academy, a request which was refused by the Kloster people. In the Pennypacker

| 1. | 2. | 3 | 4 | 5. | 6. | 7 | 8 | 9. | 10. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| R. | 1 | ☌ | ♓ | β | 1☌ | Bβ | ♓♓ | ☌☌ | 1β |
| 2 | 4 | 8 | 16 | 32 | 64 | 128 | 256 | 512 | 1024 |
| 3 | 9 | 27 | 81 | 243 | 729 | 2187 | 6561 | 19683 | 59049 |
| 4 | 16 | 64 | 256 | 1024 | 4096 | 16384 | 65536 | 262144 | 1048576 |
| 5 | 25 | 125 | 625 | 3125 | 15625 | 78125 | 390625 | 1953125 | 9765625 |
| 6 | 36 | 216 | 1296 | 7776 | 46656 | 279936 | 1679616 | 10077696 | 60466176 |
| 7 | 49 | 343 | 2401 | 16807 | 117649 | 823543 | 5764801 | 40353607 | 282475249 |
| 8 | 64 | 512 | 4096 | 32768 | 262144 | 2097152 | 16777216 | 134217728 | 1073741824 |
| 9 | 81 | 729 | 6561 | 59049 | 531441 | 4782969 | 43046721 | 387420489 | 3486784401 |

R. Radix oder Wurtzel. 2 Zenſus oder quadrat. ☌ Cubus. 3☌ Zens de Zens. β Surſolidum.
1☌ Zenſi. Cubus Bβ Bſurſolidum. ♓♓ Zens Zens de Zens. ☌☌ Cubus de Cubo.
2β Zens ſur de ſolidum.




EXAMPLE OF THE HIGHER MATHEMATICS TAUGHT IN THE EPHRATA ACADEMY.
Original in Pennypacker collection.

collection we have several specimens illustrating the higher mathematics, one of which is here reproduced.

The question has frequently been asked how much time was consumed by the celibates in transcribing one of the regular tune books used by the secular congregation. So expert did they become that the work was done quite rapidly; in fact to the beholder at the present day it appears to have been done in an almost incredible short time. A note in one of the four-part tune books now in the collection of the writer, books such as were used by the secular congregation, states that Brother Benjamin commenced work on the book on the 20th day of February and finished it on the 27th day of June of the same year. The book consists of 248 pages of written music, containing 372 melodies, exclusive of eight pages of elementary musical exercises and a copious index. The penwork is most beautifully done, without blot or erasure, even the staff being ruled with a pen. The making of this book was in addition to Brother Benjamin's other duties, as he could only devote a few hours each day to his self-imposed task. After recounting the time it took him to complete his task he adds the following pertinent note:

"Considering how great was the ardor and progress of the maker of this book, yet at times he was forced to control himself with force, as the tempter and enemy of our souls cannot bear anything less than where he finds a heart that seeks to endeavor to employ itself in the simplicity and practice of the divine honor. Therefore was the writer so oft brought into deadly and divers temptations so that frequently he had to wrestle with death and hell, as the world and the flesh at times so greatly raged that he almost lost all power and courage. But God be praised, He who at all times knows best when and how to deliver His own out of temptation."

The elementary schools were in charge of Brother Obed

Kurz gefaßte.

Nützliches

# Schul-Büchlein

Die kinder zu unterrichten, in Buchſtabieren, Leſen, und auswendig lernen,

---

Deme angehänget ein kurzer doch deutlicher, und gründlicher

Unterricht
Zur Rechenkunſt.

Aufgeſetzt zum Nutz und Gebrauch der Kinder.

Von L. H

---

Zweyte Auflage.

---

EPHRATA.
Gedruckt und zu bekommen bey dem Schulmeiſter, Drucker und Buchbinder 1786

TITLE-PAGE OF BROTHER OBED'S EPHRATA SCHOOL BOOK.

(Ludwig Höcker), who at an early day compiled and published a German school-book for the use of his scholars:

*Short, comprehensive | useful | School Book | To instruct the Children in Spelling | Reading and learning by Heart | To which is appended a short, yet clear and | fundamental | instruction | in Arithmetic. | Compiled for the use and service of Children | By L. H.: | Ephrata. | Printed and to be had of the Schoolmaster. | Printer and Bookbinder. |*

No copy of the original edition of this work has come down to us, nor is even the year known when it was printed. The title is taken from the second edition, issued in 1786.

Brother Obed prints, on the reverse of the title-page, the following preamble, which gives us a little insight into the methods of instruction pursued in the lower or common Kloster school:

"After the children have learned to spell through the A, B, C and namebook[134] we can bring them into this one and let them well learn to spell and read. Thereby they get it into their minds to learn by heart [memorize], after which we can teach them the figures. Afterward we can let them read over the Arithmetic, when they will learn to express the compound numbers. And after they are well schooled in this they can read in all books. And with this book we can save with every child a Psalter and Testament, which they usually destroy during their schooling. If they are to learn Arithmetic we can diligently exercise them in these rules, so that they may comprehend them. Afterward they can be advanced without much trouble."

It will be seen from the above mention of Psalter and

[134] No copy of the Ephrata version of this Primer has come down to us. A reprint, however, is in the library of General John E. Roller, of Harrisonburg, Va. It has the following title:

*Das erste | ganz neue Virginische. | A B C | Namen-Büchlein, | Für Kinder | (Illustration) | Sechs Cents das Stück | Neumarket: Gedruckt und zu haben bey | Ambrosius Henkel, 1808.*

Testaments that the instruction imparted was a strictly religious one, based upon Holy Writ. This was similar to that of the Lutherans and the Reformed, who used their catechism as their text book.

### The First Sabbath-school.

We now come to one of the most interesting episodes connected with the Mystics of the Cocalico. This was the introduction of the Sabbath-school system fully forty years before the Robert Raikes experiment. There are many traditions and legends current relating to this movement for the instruction of the youth upon the day of rest. All unite in giving Brother Obed the credit for its organization. In one essential point there is a divergence in these traditions and accounts, both local and printed. Some mention the movement as a Sabbath-school, others as a Sunday-school. Some legends state positively that the special instruction was given upon the seventh day; others again are equally positive that it was upon the first day, or Sunday. The writer has given this matter his earnest and careful attention, expending much time and labor in the effort to reconcile these diverse claims. It has even been charged by champions of the Raikes movement that there was absolutely no proof that either Sabbath- or Sunday-schools were ever regularly held on the Cocalico. The writer will here say that he has in his possession a letter, dated February 3, 1835, wherein Thomas Davis, of Chester county, who was then in his 72d year, says that he went to the Sabbath-school at Ephrata until he was about thirteen years of age, when it was discontinued, evidently on account of the buildings being required for hospital purposes. This would make the original movement terminate in 1777, seven years before Robert

Raikes first gathered the children together in the suburbs of the city of Gloucester for the purpose of Sabbath-school instruction, a practice which has proven to be such an incalculable blessing to the human family.

Then, again, we have the reward cards, with Scriptural proverbs, given to the children of the Sabbath-school, a reproduction of one of these cards is here given.




AN EPHRATA SABBATH-SCHOOL REWARD CARD.
The outer border is in colors done by hand.

An entry in the Fahnestock manuscript states that Höcker's (Brother Obed) object in establishing this school "was to give instruction to the indigent children of the vicinity who were kept from the regular school by the employments which their necessities obliged them to be engaged in during the week, as well as to give religious instruction to those of better circumstances."

Now a careful examination of all of the conflicting data and traditions would give the impression that the devout Brother Obed gave his religious instruction to the youth on the afternoons of both the first and the seventh day. Upon the former attention would be given to the children of the Sabbatarians; upon the latter to such children of the German settlers as were of the families that adhered to Sunday, and who could be induced to come to the instruction. If this be correct, and it undoubtedly is, it would appear to harmonize all of the traditions and conflicting theories.

All traditions, however, appear to agree that Brother Obed was seconded in his efforts by his daughter Maria (Sister Petronella), who is described[135] as a lovely and beautiful girl, not only comely in form, but lovely and



Specimen of Gothic Letters in the Christian's A, B, C.

beautiful in her Christian character, as ardent and active in the Sabbath-school as she was in every Christian virtue. Maria Höcker (Sister Petronella) was undoubtedly the first female Sunday-school teacher of whom we have any record.

[135] Fahnestock MSS.



INSTRUCTING THE YOUTH.

The above Sabbath-school movement is not to be confounded with the quasi revival movement mentioned in the *Chronicon*, where some of the boys of the Sabbatarian community met together every day before and after common



Specimen Page from Ephrata Letter Book.

school hours, to pray and exhort one another, under the superintendence of one of the brethren. The attendant excitement ran into excess and betrayed a zeal not according to knowledge.

## CHAPTER XV.

### THE VISIT OF ISRAEL ACRELIUS.



Arms of Sweden

OF THE many travellers who visited the Ephrata Kloster during the Colonial period, and have left us a description of their sojourn in the settlement on the Cocalico, none is more full, clear and comprehensive than that given by Rev. Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Lutheran churches in Pennsylvania. Acrelius it appears was very anxious to obtain a thorough insight into the Kloster economy and religion. To get a proper introduction, he secured the good offices of George Ross, Esq., of Lancaster, who was then, notwithstanding his youth, one of the most influential men in the county, as well as the occasional adviser of the Brethren. The Provost arrived with Mr. Ross at the Kloster about noon, Friday, September 7, 1753, and upon Mr. Ross' introduction was graciously received by Beissel and Peter Miller. Mr. Ross, to whom the Kloster was no novelty, returned home on the same evening and left Acrelius in charge of Prior Jaebez. During the coming Sabbath the reverend visitor was given every opportunity to witness all

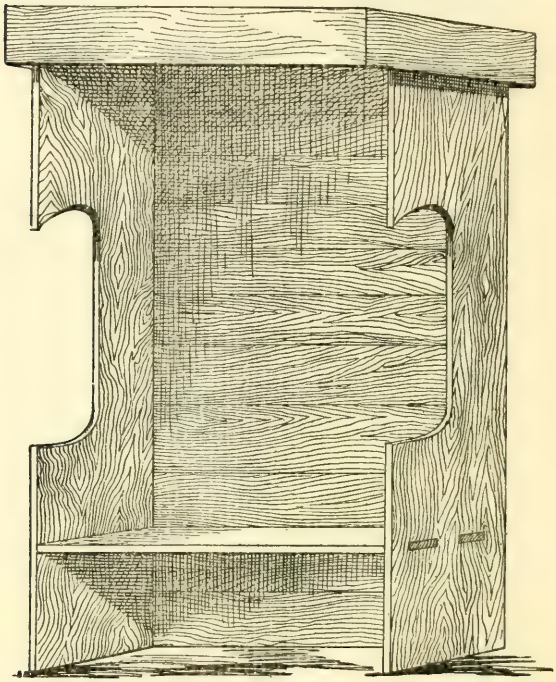
of the ceremonies and worship, as well as an insight into the domestic economy of both Orders.

Provost Acrelius in his account says:

"We first announced ourselves to Rev. Peter Miller (Prior Jaebez), and were heartily welcomed. I informed him that I was a Swedish minister, and had long been desirous of seeing them. 'So,' said he, 'will you also see this poor place? But, however poorly we live here, and although we live almost entirely by ourselves, yet we have the advantage of seeing the most distinguished people in the country; for no one comes to the land, who wishes to be honored for his knowledge and understanding, without visiting us in our isolated retreat, even though our visitors be the proudest people in the country. We thus get acquaintance enough, though but little advantage therefrom. If any new lawyer or advocate comes to Lancaster, it is certain that we shall soon make his acquaintance.' He further said that he had known almost all the Swedish ministers who had been in the country. I begged leave to remain over night among them, so that I might see their worship, which would take place on the next day, being a Saturday. He answered, 'Why not? We shall entertain you as well as we can; if you will be satisfied with that.'

"We requested Mr. Miller to show us the various rooms in the convent, and thereupon went into the brethren's church. In the middle of the church was a broad seat or place for a chair for Father Friedsam; this was turned towards the congregation; back of this were two others turned towards each other and making a square; this was said to be intended for Eleazar, the Superior of the convent, and the oldest of the brethren. Back of this again was an altar, or a small and high table, and a pulpit to lay a book on. The altar stood somewhat away from the aisle, so that he who ministered there might always turn himself towards the congregation; on the right side of the altar

there was also a little room, screened by a curtain, within which no one was to enter except their minister, which was called the Sanctuary. There were also places for benches on both sides of the church, which are used for



PULPIT OF THE OLD BROTHER-SAAL.
From sketch by Jacob Konigmacher of the original.

the brothers and sisters of the (secular) congregation. Above, there was a gallery on both sides, so arranged with extending lattice work that one could look through the open-

ings and see down through the church. Miller said that that was built for the sisters, so that if they should come to look at the brothers' service, they should, for the sake of modesty, be concealed, as also that the women's place in the temple at Jerusalem was arranged in the same way. * * *

"We sat ourselves down to rest on a seat in the church, and I asked him whether the Lord's Supper was celebrated at the altar? He answered, 'Yes, that is done by Father Friedsam, when one after another goes forward and receives the Sacrament in Bread and Wine; but this must be done on some evening, and with feet-washing afterwards.'

"We then went into the sisters' convent, and saw their rooms in some parts. The church was arranged in the same manner as that of the brethren above described, with the exception of the gallery. Upon the one side were benches for the brethren of the Cloister when they wished to come thither. The Lord's Supper is administered at the altar in both churches by Father Friedsam, so that they come one by one each time. He is also the minister in both churches.

"Mr. George Ross expressed a desire to see the sisters and hear them sing. Miller, however, would not go to them to urge this upon them, but said, 'You may yourself ask them for this, and perhaps you can effect more with them than I can.' We went and knocked at the convent door. The Prioress (Maria) came out, and when she heard our request, she bade us remain in the church until the sisters came in the proper order to sing. We received an invitation, and went up a still narrower set of stairs than any that we had before seen, and came into a large room; in that there were long tables, with seats upon both sides of them. Here there were some of the sisters sitting and writing their note-books for the hymns—a work wonderful for its ornaments. Six of them sat together and sang a




SPECIMEN OF EPHRATA PEN WORK.—A COMBINATION OF TYPE WORK, MUSIC AND COLOR WORK.

very lovely tune. Both before and after the singing, the sisters talked both with us and with Miller quite freely about one thing and another, and seemed to be quite pleased. Both at our entrance and our departure we shook hands with each of them, and they testified their friendship, according to their custom, by a peculiar position and pressure of the hand.

"Mr. Ross now returned home and left me alone. A party of brethren to the number of ten met in Miller's white and clean ante-room—I cannot say whether to visit me or to show their respect for Miller. At six o'clock they broke up and went to the sisters' convent one by one, after each other, up the hill. I asked what that meant? Miller answered that they were going to a love-feast among the sisters. I said, 'Come, I will go along.' Miller declined, as he had not been invited, and also said, 'I knew nothing of that meeting until they had assembled here. You can have your supper with the brethren, which will be just as pleasant to you.'

"The time was now due for the Cloister brethren to go to their evening meal, and thereupon each one came out of his room immediately, and all went one after another up a pair of stairs into the refectory. This was large enough for one hundred persons, with two long tables; but now they were mostly seated at one table, as the number of brethren at that time was scarcely twenty. Around the hall in the passages were small cases, each large enough to hold a Bible, for which, indeed, they were intended, and each had a small white linen curtain before it. The cloth was spread on the table, the food placed in deep stone dishes. The courses were pearled barley boiled in milk, with bread broken into it; another course was pumpkin mush, with slices of small crusted bread on a plate. Between these was butter, but only for me, as the brethren

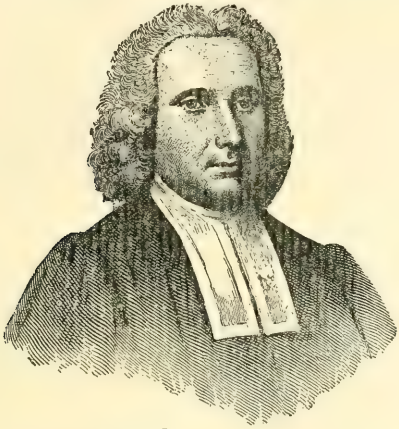
for themselves had a kind of cheese-curds on platters all around the table.[136]

"Each one took his place, and I was shown to mine, where the greater part of the brethren were behind my back. After they had sat for some time with downcast eyes, one of the brethren at the table read a passage out of the Bible, after which they sat still for some moments, then each one took out of his pocket a bag in which there was a wooden spoon and a knife. The spoon and knife given to me were taken out of a drawer under the table. We all ate with a good appetite, first of the barley, then of the pumpkin mush, and finally of the butter, in which the economy was observed that when, at the finishing of the dish, one could no longer use the spoon, the remainder was taken up with pieces of bread. There was no other use for a knife than to take the butter and cut the bread; neither was any plate needed, as, in fact, none was there. I did not see that any piece of bread was broken. At the close each one licked his knife and spoon, dried them with a cloth which they had in the same bag, and then the knife and spoon were restored to their former place. During the meal not a word was spoken; at the close another chapter was read out of the Bible.

"After the meal, Miller and Eleazar remained with me in the refectory, and then Eleazar asked me what I thought of their arrangements? If I knew what they had eaten? And how long I thought I could live upon such a diet? We agreed that nature is satisfied with a small quantity of food; that both moderation in eating and drinking and food suitable to the human body preserves from sickness, makes the body active and the mind cheerful; that if all which may properly be called superfluous in meat and drink and clothing should be used for the suffering there

[136] These platters are of wood. Two of them are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

would be no need of so many hospitals in the old countries, and Christianity would have a very different aspect from that which it now presents. Eleazar said that the English, who could not live without flesh at every meal, wonder at our style of meals; but the German taste is different, many peasants in Germany do not taste flesh five times a year. I



*Ir. Acrelius*

asked if they regarded the eating of flesh as sinful? Miller answered, 'Nay; but the brethren do not incline to the eating of flesh. Our food is usually of vegetables, such as cabbages, roots, greens, also milk, butter, cheese, and good bread always. At the love-feasts the provision may be somewhat better than usual. We forbid none among us who desire it to eat meat. Wine is used when some one is sick.'

NOTE.—Rev. Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish churches in America, Nov. 6, 1749–Nov. 9, 1756.

"I saw at the table a man who was not in their usual dress, also without a beard, and was told that he had lately come into their society, that he was a doctor of medicine, born in Saxony, educated at Halle. After he had visited a great part of Europe and Africa without finding any genuine Christian society, he had finally remained with them, as, in his opinion, the best that was to be found. Miller said that he had had a Christian sickness; which meant consumption, and is an abiding cross until death.

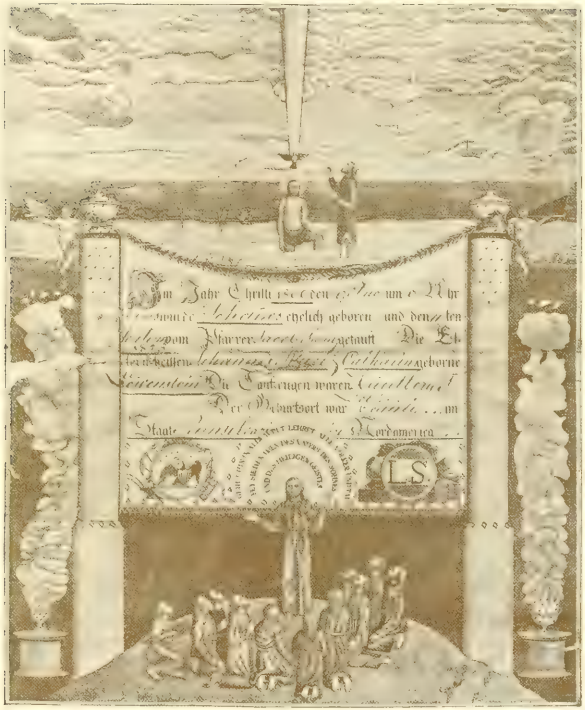
"I asked further about their arrangements with regard to eating, and they said that in the morning, on working days, the brethren usually took their meals by themselves in their rooms; at noon they went into the kitchen and received whatever was at hand. Their supper they all took together.

"We went down again into Miller's room, and there he showed me the *History of the Persecutions of the Anabaptists*, a large and thick folio volume, which he himself had translated from the Holland into the German language, and had afterwards had it printed there in Ephrata, saying that it was the largest book that had been printed in Pennsylvania, as also that he had labored for three years on the translation, and was at the same time so burthened with work that he did not sleep more than four hours during the night.

"The edition of Miller's book was one thousand two hundred copies, of which seven hundred have been circulated, and five hundred are still on hand.[137] He said that they could be sold within ten years. I think he meant twenty. The price is twenty-two shillings. I asked him how they could be sold at so low a price: 'Why not,' said he: 'for we do not propose to get rich?'

"They conducted me to a cell, up a set of stairs, where

[137] Part of these five hundred copies were used during the Revolutionary War for making cartridges.




DUNKER BAPTISMAL CERTIFICATE.

JOHANNES REYER BORN AUG. 4, 1800; BAPTIZED SEPT., 1825.

ENGRAVED BY C. F. EGELMAN ORIGINAL IN SACHSE COLLECTION

there was a chaff bed laid upon the floor, a coarse sheet spread over it, with two blankets, and then a figured bed-quilt. They told me to use this just as I pleased. They, themselves, lie upon their hard benches, having either a stone or a piece of wood under their head. After I had laid down, I heard a splashing and suffling late into the night, which was caused by their washing the feet of some strange brethren who had come from the country to make them a visit, whose feet the brethren of the Cloister then washed.

"On Saturday morning, at six o'clock, the cook came to waken me, and said that Divine Service would begin in half an hour. This was a black-bearded old man, very serviceable; but I did not know why he should have such a long coat of black cloth, when all the others wore white, unless it was that the pot-black might be better concealed in this way. I was soon dressed, and came to Miller. There the brethren were as white as snow, and the room smelled of rose-water, which they put on their clothes.

"Whilst we were waiting for the service, we fell into conversation on the hallowing of the seventh day. He referred to Jonas Auren, who had come into the country along with the pastors, Rudman and Biörck, but afterwards turned to the Sabbatarians, and asked if I had been informed of that. I let him understand that I was aware alike of his fall and of his uprising. How, during the time that he held with the observers of the seventh day, he had written an almanac, called Noah's Dove, which flew through that country to favor said sect. In opposition to which, the Provost Biörck, with manly sense and spirit, had written a reply, entitled, 'A Little Olive Leaf'[138] put in

[138] "A Little Olive Branch put in the Mouth of that (so-called) Noah's Dove." Printed and sold by William Bradford at the sign of the Bible in New York, 1704. Sm. 4to. Title from the only known copy, shown at the Bradford Exhibition of the Grolier Club.

the mouth of that so-called 'Noah's Dove,' and sent home again to let her owner know that the waters are abated from off the face of the ground.'

"This conversation was held between us whilst we were going out and a part of our way, for in a moment the brethren were out of their cells and in full march. We now went to the third church, which stands on the hill by itself, in which service is held once a month, and the whole congregation comes together from both convents, as well as from the country. The people of the Cloisters walk in their usual way, one after the other, the sisters as well as the brothers; and their walks are, therefore, all narrow, like footpaths. I took my place in the ranks of the white brethren, whilst Miller went upon my left side.

"During our walk up the long hill, Miller asked me if I believed that the pains of hell were eternal? To which I answered, 'Just as certainly as the joy of heaven is eternal.' We now arrived at the church door, and that was the end of the matter.

"The church was not large, and could be filled by some hundred persons. The forepart of the church was the third part of its size, the floor of which was some steps higher than the other part, and there sat the Cloister brothers in their order. Miller and Eleazar, together with some others, sat on cross-seats opposite to one another, the others on long benches on both sides, and also in the rear. Above, the sisters of the Cloister had their gallery, so arranged that neither they could see the congregation nor the congregation see them. Father Friedsam had his seat separate between the high choir and the rest of the church. The Cloister brothers went in through a little door to the high choir, whereupon the sisters immediately followed. But Miller conducted me in through the large room, and gave me in charge to the sexton, who immediately showed me my place in the foremost seats. In the church there

were people both of their own and of other forms of faith.

"When they were assembled they sat for some moments perfectly still. In the meantime, Father Friedsam was seen to be preparing himself; he held his hands upon both his sides, threw his head up and down, his eyes hither and thither; pulled at his mouth, his nose, his neck, and finally sang in a low and fine tone. Thereupon the sisters in the gallery began to sing, the Cloister brothers joined in with them, and all those who were together in the high choir united in a delightful hymn, which lasted for about a quarter of an hour. Thereupon Miller arose and read the third chapter of Isaiah.

"Father Friedsam then recommenced his former movements, and appeared rather ridiculous than devotional. Finally, he arose with his hands clasped together, with his eyes turned upwards, and began to speak of the natural darkness of man's understanding, and prayed for enlightenment and a blessing. Then he sat down and preached about holiness of life, the danger of temptations, and the need of watchfulness. Examples of this were taken from the soldiers in Germany, who called out, 'Who goes there? Who goes there?' Finally, he began to speak of faith, hope, and charity. Faith and unbelief are the points between which man fluctuates. Faith saves, but unbelief condemns. That hope and charity follow faith. But when he should have developed this point, he made faith the foundation of hope and love; but then again immediately said that just as love is so are hope and faith. All turned upon this, that faith was nothing else than an inward fear of God, and devotion. It seemed to me that Father Friedsam himself did not know where he was at home (what he believed.) All this was spoken with an incomparable rapidity, in hasty language, with rapid gestures. Now he struck out his hands, now he pressed them to his breast,

now he placed them upon one side, now upon another, and now upon both. Again, he scratched his head, then patted himself on the nose, and then wiped his nose on the back of his hand. Meanwhile, in the congregation, which he frequently called Jerusalem, some were moved and shook their heads, others wept, others slept, and so on. The sermon was concluded with an Amen.

"Miller went forward to Father Friedsam and proposed that a psalm should be sung. It is to be remarked that every one has the liberty of speaking and suggesting anything profitable to the congregation. Then Father Friedsam hinted to a brother, who sat on a bench nearest to him in the church, that he should begin, and himself raised the tune; the said brother began the psalm and led it. Father Friedsam also united in it, as also the brethren and sisters who sat in cross-seats in front, having psalm-books and also note-books; but the Cloister people, as well as the rest of the congregation, were silent.

"It is to be observed that to every psalm there are three different melodies, according to which the note-books are written by the sisters of the convent. Different brothers, as well as the sisters, understand vocal music, as also does Father Friedsam. When they sing, each one holds a note-book as well as a psalm-book, both of which are of quarto size, looking into both alternately, which custom would be more difficult if the singing were not performed so regularly every day.

"After that psalm, Father Friedsam asked the brethren generally if any one had anything to suggest for the general edification? Thereupon a little man, quite old, with a heavy beard which concealed the greater part of his face, and with a soft voice, answered, 'That he pictured the Gospel to himself as a beautiful flower, which had a delightful odor of still increasing strength, and that should bear glorious fruit. Also, that he had both a right to that flower

and pleasure in it, when he could appropriate it to himself with a broken and contrite heart.' Whereupon he burst forth into tears, so that the rest of his well-meant discourse was broken off and suppressed.

"This part of their service consists, as it were, in common conversation, wherein each one relates what he has upon his conscience, in what state he finds himself, and what may be suggested as to the edification of the congregation. When any one announces anything of the kind Father Friedsam gives his judgment thereupon.

"When the service closed it was eight o'clock. The women went out of the church first, in such manner that those from the benches nearest to the door first marched off one after another, then those that were next, and so the whole of the women's side of the church. The same order was observed upon the men's side, when they went through the large door of the church; so also did the brethren and sisters go through the smaller door from their high choir. They are not accustomed to many hours of attendance at church, as Miller stated to me; whereupon I asked him how the rest of the day was spent among them? Whether they go to visit one another, etc.? He answered: 'The brethren remain most of their time within their cells; they work hard during the week, and so they must rest.' Whence it followed that as the work was bodily, so must their rest be chiefly of that character.

"It is to be remarked that, as they hold their Sabbath on Saturday, they are in the midst of their work on Sunday, which is not only in conflict with all Christian order, but also against the fundamental law of the land, which expressly declares that Sunday shall be the Sabbath for all. In consequence of this, the Magistrates of the country, when they first took up their abode there, took their horses and oxen from the plow, and imposed fines upon them; but this did not produce the slightest change in them. They

were, therefore, arrested and driven in flocks to the jail in Lancaster. But they were not cast down by this, but sang hymns in their place of imprisonment; but neither ate nor drank for many days; neither did they lie down to rest any further than that they leaned against one another as they sat. All which, with other things, moved the Governor and other Magistrates to leave them in peace from that time.

"After divine service, whilst I went hither and thither among the brethren in their cloister, talking now with one and now with another, most of them being very stupid, Father Friedsam came to make me a visit,—an honor of which not every one can boast,—as is the custom of that place. He came in a white woolen coat, with a bare head and a rapid gait. He bade me welcome to their brotherhood with friendly words and gestures. I perceived that the brethren had induced him to show me this politeness, as they also seemed to take pleasure in my society. We went into Miller's room, and the old man seemed more full of life than the others.

"'I doubt not, my friend,' said he, 'that you are aware that the cloister-life is older than the Papacy; as also that the Christian Church, whilst still in its state of innocence, had within it certain flocks that choose a life of celibacy, and had all things in common.' 'That is not denied,' said I; 'neither do I myself undertake to judge that manner of life, only through this, that no merit is aimed at before God. Or, how is that, my friends? Do you believe that you are nearer to the door of heaven than I am because of your hard life—because you sleep upon these hard benches and are so lean and haggard?

"'We by no means think of meriting anything hereby,' said Father Friedsam. 'God guard us from that. But we are commanded to depart from Babylon, or the sinful world; and as we are left at liberty to separate ourselves in this manner, so we have had a desire to do so.' I answered,

'Do you mean that the world, the flesh and the devil do not trouble you here in this house?' Miller fell into the conversation by saying, 'We believe that these enemies are everywhere, and even here also; but here we are not so much oppressed by them as you are in the great world, where there are more temptations. And you should also remember that the Apostle enjoins that each one shall walk in the vocation wherein he is called. We have found our calling to coincide with this mode of life. In this we are secure.'

'But think you,' said I, 'that no one has the spirit of the primitive Church except those who live in a community of goods?' 'As regards that,' said Miller, 'we admit that such a community can be observed only by those who arrive at the highest degree of perfection. It was not all Christians in the first church who had received that gift. Among us, also, we have paid dearly enough for it, as several false brethren took the money which we had gathered for the common good of the congregation, and under the pretence of purchasing a piece of land for a new residence on the other side of the river Susquehanna, ran away with it, which placed us in such straits that it was nearly the end of our mode of life here. To him who can live among us the door stands open. Those of our brethren who have their farms around us are of the same mind, although they do not live in the same way; so that if we should need the whole of any one's place, he would willingly give it to us out of love to the brethren.'

"I again turned to Father Friedsam, and said, 'It gives, me great joy to learn that you love the Lord Jesus Christ, honor His sacraments, and speak of His gracious dealings in your divine services.' He answered, 'God preserve us from anything else; it is upon Him that we must hope, obeying His commands and walking in His footsteps.' I said further, 'that I had not expected to see the brethren

and sisters with such smiling faces and friendly demeanor beneath their outward cross.' Miller replied, 'Indeed you touch my heart by your conversation. The children of God need not always show a sour countenance. That would be nothing else than to show one's self impatient of their Father's will. One never sees a discontented mind with a glad countenance, nor a contented mind with a sour face. If we are contented with our Heavenly Father's will, we shall always show ourselves satisfied and with a glad countenance, even with the bitterness of death.'

"The time was further passed away by conversation between Miller and myself. I requested him to inform me as to their mode of baptizing, which he also did.

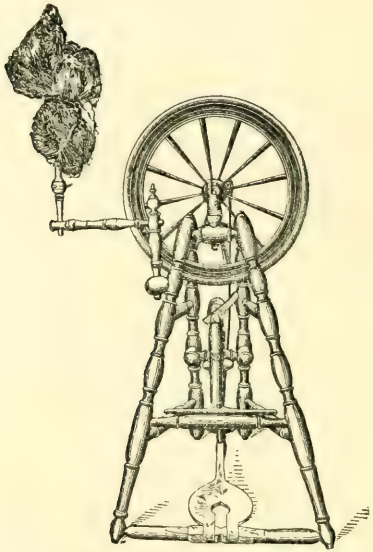
"Among themselves these brethren live in great love, always calling each other brother or sister along with their proper name. They kiss each other when they meet, and wash each other's feet. They have a great many Jewish customs. They all have their beard growing up to their ears. This together with their white dress and their spare diet, is well adapted to gain their object, namely, to look pale, thin and wretched. They go bare-footed in summer, use feet-washing, keep the seventh day as holy, count their hours after the Jewish fashion, from the beginning of the day, so that our six o'clock is their one, and our twelve their seven. To which may also be added that when I heard them read the Scriptures five different times, it was always out of the Old Testament, the Prophets, and the Psalms, but never out of the New Testament. So, also, they had a taste for the Old Testament in their 'Sanctuary' and their 'Women's Gallery.'

"Their rules, whether of the church, the household, or other usages, are as yet only oral, and are frequently changed, as seems to be demanded by edification. It is said that the brotherhood lives in the freedom of its conscience, and therefore without laws; and it is thought that

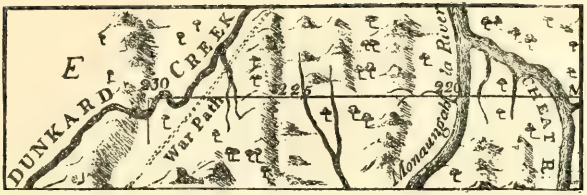
some of the brethren do not yet know what the others believe. At first they regarded it as a sin to kill any animal, and still more so to eat flesh. Now they say that this is left to each one's freedom to eat it or not; but what liberty is there in eating what is not found in their storehouse? At first, also, it was regarded as a sin to use horses for working, and they themselves dragged home their own wood, and for this purpose put on themselves a suitable harness. Now they labor with horses and oxen, which, however, they treat very kindly. This, with other things, causes me to think that their work is still in its beginning, and stands, as it were, in a state of ferment as to whether anything shall come of it hereafter or not; also, that the freedom so much talked of is nothing but an encouragement to others to unite with them. I am sure that no one is regarded as a genuine brother in that house, unless he sleeps upon a hard bench in his usual clothes, however they may prate about their freedom. Father Friedsam who lives in a little house between the brethren's and sisters' cloisters, has a rope, which goes upon both sides over the garden, with a bell at each end in both cloisters. When it so comes into his head, and he pulls thereon, and the bell rings, and even if it were in the middle of the night, all must get up and assemble in their church to hold service; a small paper lantern in each one's cell is used upon such occasions. Around the convent and its land, families belonging to their Society have settled themselves and bought farms and homesteads. In this there is a policy, namely, that people of other faith may not come too near and disturb them. They are also so peaceful with their neighbors that if any dispute ever arises, they would rather surrender their rights, or give the matter into the hands of others in whom they have confidence, than trouble any Judge with it. Their congregations are widely scattered in several places in Chester county, and also in East Jersey. But at

some distance from the convent, several hermits live in houses by themselves, built mostly at the expense of the Society.

"They have one Society in Virginia upon New river (in the western part of Virginia.) There, however, they dwell in separate houses, but in one neighborhood, and so by themselves that they neither help nor desire help from other people."

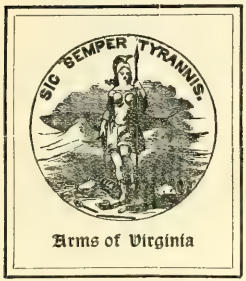


A Lancaster County Spinning-wheel.




## CHAPTER XVI.

### IN THE VALLEYS OF VIRGINIA.



Arms of Virginia

FEW greater truisms have ever been written in connection with the history of our colonies than that of John Fiske, the New England historian, when he says that "The colony of Pennsylvania was not only more heterogeneous in population than any of the others, but it actually was the principal centre of distribution of the non-English population from the seaboard to the Alleghany mountains. All of the population of the Carolinas, as well as in Virginia and Maryland, entered the country by way of Pennsylvania, and this migration was so great, both in its physical dimensions and in the political and social effects which it wrought, that Pennsylvania acquires a special interest as the temporary tarrying-place and distributing centre for so much that we now call characteristically American." [139]

The great natural avenue followed by the Germans in

HEADPIECE.—Section of Mason and Dixon's survey.

[139] *Dutch and Quaker Settlements.*

the early days before the western movement began was down through the great valleys formed by the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany mountains of the Appalachian system, which extends from Pennsylvania through Virginia and beyond the Carolinas. This great valley is known respectively as the Cumberland, Shenandoah and Virginia valleys, and from time immemorial was the natural highway of the Indians coming from the south to the north, or *vice versa*. By taking this course they avoided the large streams and hills, and found plenty of fish, game and fruits to subsist upon; and thus the trail from north to south was a well-marked one.

When the great exodus from Germany began by way of England in 1709, many of the emigrants were sent to the Carolinas, and some to Virginia and New York; the bulk, however, came to Pennsylvania, a province which was the real goal for all the Germans who left the Fatherland during this great migratory movement.

After these settlements in the different colonies were established, there was more or less effort made to open communication between the German settlements north and south of Pennsylvania. The earliest pathfinders in this movement appear to have been religious enthusiasts who were not of the orthodox faiths; thus the oldest record we have of this is a letter sent by Magister Johannes Kelpius, leader of the Pietists on the Wissahickon, to Maria Elizabeth Gerber, in Virginia, and dated October 10, 1704. This is the earliest account we have of the settlement of any Germans in Virginia.

We have already told how Michael Wohlfarth, as early as 1722, visited Beissel at the Mühlbach while on a journey to North Carolina by way of the valley of Virginia. Then again we have the account of François Régnier, who in 1735 walked down to Georgia by way of Winchester and Augusta court-house, and crossing the Blue Ridge at Evans

Gap, and following the valley of the James, reached the seaboard.

There is no doubt but that the great valleys of the Appalachian system west of the Blue Ridge were known to the German settlers long before they were to the English. The route of these German religious enthusiasts was a well-marked one. It led from the eastern counties of Pennsylvania, by way of Lancaster and York, thence down the



GERMAN DUNKERS ON THEIR WAY TO THE SHENANDOAH.

From an old print.

Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, crossing the Blue Ridge and following the great Indian trail down the valley of the James, which avoided deep waters and high mountains, and invariably leading from ford to ford, until they reached the settlements on the seabord of Virginia and the Carolinas. So well was this great highway defined that in later years it was followed regularly by the Moravian Brethren on their missionary tours between the north and the south, and in the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys is still perpetuated by the valley turnpike and the railroad which almost parallels it. The fertile, well-watered bottoms of the Shenandoah valley were well known to our

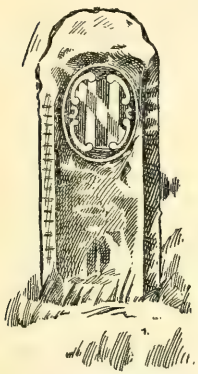
Ephrata Sabbatarians, and as early as the beginning of the forties Johannes Funk, one of the domestic households, journeys down to the great valley of Virginia and buys of William Russel three hundred and twenty acres of fertile land fronting on the North fork of the Shenandoah river, near the present town of Strasburg. This land was a part of the grant of King Charles II to Lord Culpepper, and in time came into possession of Lord Fairfax, who had married a daughter of the former. Fairfax sold a large tract to William Russel, who in turn was the grantor to Johannes Funk. The location, to be more concise, was in what was known as the northern neck of Virginia, or later as St. Mary's parish, Frederick county. A year before the Eckerlin episode, Johannes Funk conveys one hundred and fifty acres of this tract to one Jacob Funk; the import of this transaction will appear later in our story.

It has been said in a previous chapter that when Onesimus, Jephune, Timotheus (Alexander Mack), Ephriam (Jacob Höhnly) and several followers left the Kloster, September 4, 1745, they moved toward the wilderness, travelling about five hundred miles toward the setting of the sun, until, beyond all Christian governments, they reached a stream which runs toward the Mississippi, New river by name.

Many reports and much gossip was current among the Germans in Lancaster and Philadelphia counties when it became known that this little party had set out from Ephrata with their teams, baggage and supplies. Their destination was kept a secret, and when they said that they were going to the distant forest it was thought to be only a blind to hide their real objective point, which Dame Rumor persistently gave as Bethlehem. So universally was this believed in the Community, that Christopher Sauer, in his paper of October 16, 1745, saw fit to contradict these rumors and gossip. He there says: "The reports

about the departure of divers Brethren from Zion vary. That both brothers, Samuel and Israel Eckerlin, together with Alexander Mack, did, to completely escape from the turmoil of the world and follow their calling and desire,[140] journey into the distant wilderness, after they had taken a proper farewell, is certain. That they secretly went to Bethlehem for the purpose of having wives given unto them is either a misunderstanding or circulated to injure both institutions."

The route which this little party of pathfinders took was down the great valley until they came to Funk's, where they halted and preparations were made for their journey into the wilderness. There is but little doubt that the peculiarity of the New river was known to the Eckerlins, as both of the above-cited journeyings of Wohlfarth and Régnier date long before Col. Woods described the erratic course of the New river, noting the peculiarity that while it rises in North Carolina east of the mountains it flows northward into Virginia, and then, breaking its way through the Alleghanies, it flows westward, uniting with the Greenbriar to form the Great Kanawaha, whose waters eventually mingle with those of the Mississippi.



BOUNDARY STONE BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND MARYLAND, SHOWING CALVERT ARMS.

After leaving Funk's the little party continued down the valley, crossing the valley of the James and entering that of the New river, until, after a journey of about four hundred miles, they came to a likely situation on the river. Here they decided on a site for their future home; this

[140] *Ruf und Zug.*

was in what are now Montgomery and Pulaski counties, the New river forming the county line. For neighbors they had, besides the Indians, merely a few pioneers, trappers and outlaws whom the *Chronicon* designated as the dregs of human society.

Cabins were built without delay, and before the severe weather set in the little village was complete. Upon the first Sabbath a devout service was held and the place was named MAHANAIM; this had reference to Genesis xxxii: 1, 2:

> And Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him.
> And when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host: and he called the name of that place Mahanaim.

The situation was an ideal one for the mystic recluse—fertile, secluded, romantic, it might be said to be out of the world.

Now the question naturally arises, How was it that the party went to such an out of the way place, far from all civilization? Here again the farsightedness of the Eckerlins manifested itself. It was the only spot east of the Alleghany mountains which at that time would give them a natural outlet to the Mississippi and the French trading posts. The road to the Ohio through Pennsylvania and Maryland was as yet unopened, and the whole of Western Pennsylvania was supposed to be in possession of savage Indians and the even more barbarous French.

The sagacity of the Eckerlins, whereby they foresaw an eventual opening of trade and travel toward the setting sun, is further proven by their next venture, in which two of the brothers became victims of Indian barbarity and French bigotry. As the winter set in Onesimus and Timotheus resigned themselves to study and esoteric speculations; Jephune saw to the physical wants of the scattered settlers, and Jotham with his trusty rifle kept the party well supplied with bear meat and game, also

trapping for furs and trading with the Indians. When spring-time came the little colony cleared ground and tilled the soil. Communication was kept up with the Ephrata Community by the way of the Shenandoah settlements and the brethren on the Bermudian. Thus time passed and gradually softened the asperities which had caused the rupture between the Eckerlins and the leaders of the Kloster, and there was a mutual longing for personal reconciliation.

The little settlement on the New river was rapidly reinforced by accessions from both Ephrata and Germantown, and quite a pilgrimage was organized from the latter place. It is even said that a famous doctor was most likely induced thereby to undertake his long journey down to the valley of the New river. This was undoubtedly Dr. Christopher Witt, the Germantown mystic, who made a botanizing trip into Virginia about that time.

Not all of the German pilgrims, however, reached the New river, nor did all remain there. Many, attracted by the fertile bottoms of the Shenandoah and its tributaries, remained or eventually settled in the upper valley, where their descendants still live in the Dunker faith. Among the Zionitic Brethren who joined the Eckerlins was one Heinrich Zinn, mention of whose tragic end will appear later on.

Of the original party, Timotheus (Alexander Mack) was the first to return to Pennsylvania. He left Mahanaim some time during 1747 or early in 1748. His departure was brought about by the following curious incident. It appears that upon a certain night Brother Timotheus had a vivid dream, in which it was revealed to him that the Indians were about to burn their heritage, murder some, and lead others into captivity (a condition which a decade later was realized). This dream made a strong impression upon the recluse, and was aggravated when shortly after-

ward a strolling band of savages destroyed their field of corn during the night. Timotheus then revealed his dream to his fellow recluses and stated his fears. The answer of the Eckerlins was that, if he lacked faith, they would not object to his leaving them. He therefore transferred his cabin to them and wended his way northward. It does not appear that he went to Ephrata, or at least made any lengthy stay there, but he seems to have gone direct to Germantown, and for some reasons of his own again made his peace with the Germantown congregation. This re-



BROTHER TIMOTHEUS' DREAM.

sulted in Brother Timotheus being received into the church, June 7, 1748, upon trial and probation as a minister.

That the Ephrata people did not resign Brother Mack willingly is shown by a letter still in existence, written by his brother Valentine, and dated June 27, 1748, twenty days after Alexander's ordination, wherein he urges him to again return to the Kloster. The brother was evidently not aware of the final step having been taken by his older brother. The appeal was without avail, and henceforth Alexander Mack, the son of the Patriarch, became an elder and minister in the Dunker church of Germantown; and to his efforts,

more than any other, is due the development of the German Brethren or Dunkers into the great denomination of Christians they actually are at the close of the nineteenth century.

Brother Ephraim (Jacob Höhnly), the next recluse to leave Mahanaim, came to Philadelphia and entered the service of Johannes Wüster, the merchant. His days, however, were short; he died in the same year (1748).

After a sojourn at Mahanaim of five years, Onesimus and Jotham concluded to revisit the scenes of their former activity, Jephune remaining at the New river.

It was on the twenty-third day of February, 1750, when the little caravan, led by Onesimus and Jotham, arrived in the Conestoga valley. A halt was made at the house of one of the Sabbatarian congregation, and word of their arrival was sent to the Kloster. A meeting of the Brotherhood was at once convened in the great Saal by Beissel, and two of the brethren were sent as delegates to welcome them back to their old home, and offer them the hospitalities of the Kloster. This was accepted, and the visitors escorted by the delegates entered the Kloster confines and proceeded directly to the large Brother-saal of Bethania, where all of the celibates were assembled to receive the returning brethren.

Great was the joy of all parties; former asperities were forgotten. It was as if the prodigal had returned. The kiss of peace was passed; all present embraced the former Prior, and, as Agrippa writes, the scene was "so edifying to behold that it did not pass off without tears, because the Philadelphian brotherly spirit was then revived among brethren who for many a year had eaten the bread of misery together."

The two brothers were greatly moved by the cordial reception extended to them and the kind behavior upon the part of the brethren, so they offered not only to live

with the brethren again, as regarding their own persons, but also to deposit all their acquired property in the treasury of the Community.

At the evening services many of the house-fathers were present, and these, too, received them with special love and admonished them to return again to the settlement on the Cocalico.

Onesimus and his brother now resolved to make a tour of the German settlements as far as Germantown, but as he feared that the opinion was still prevalent that they were inimical to Beissel and his followers, they requested the latter to give them a travelling companion. He appointed one who had formerly been the best friend of the Prior, but who had separated from him on account of his rebellion.

When the little party reached Germantown, great surprise was expressed at the course of their former fellow-pilgrim Timotheus, who was now in full accord with the Dunkers, and had discarded his vows of celibacy and was married. Visits were also paid to Peter Becker and others of the original congregation. Reconciliations were effected between all parties and former differences adjusted.

When the party returned to the Cocalico they prepared for their departure to Mahanaim. At the leave-taking the former Prior put forty pounds in the Brethren's treasury, and after an edifying farewell the two brothers again started for their home in Virginia, with the implied understanding that if Jephune's consent could be obtained the whole party were to return to Ephrata.

By order of Beissel two of the Solitary, Martin Funk and Nathaniel Eicher (Manasseh and Nathaniel) accompanied them, and were instructed to assist them in packing, transporting and disposing of their property at Mahanaim prior to their return to the Kloster.

Immediate preparations were made upon their arrival at

the New river for a final departure. So anxious, however, was Onesimus that he started alone in advance of the others and arrived at Ephrata April 25, 1750. He entered the Brotherhood as an ordinary brother, and for a time all went well; but as his dominant spirit commenced again to assert itself, he was given to understand that the Kloster brethren could well get along without the addition of any of the Eckerlins.

Rather than again have any misunderstanding, Onesimus left the Kloster after a sojourn of about six months (October 2, 1750), and went to the house of Jacob Sontag, one of the secular congregation.

It was during these two visits of the Eckerlins that an intimacy was formed between the three Alsatians and Brother Ezekiel (Sangmeister), the outcome of which will appear later on.

During the meantime the elder brother, Jephune, ignorant of any fresh trouble at the Kloster had sold his lands on the New river, packed up his peltries and Indian wares and started for Ephrata. Great was the surprise of the party upon their arrival, when they learned from the former Prior the story of his second departure.

After a short stay at Johann Bauman's,[141] the Eckerlin party wended their way towards Philadelphia, where they sold to advantage their furs and traded for other goods needed by the pioneer for life in the forest.

Sangmeister, in his account says that during their stay in the city, Point-no-Point was bought for the party. This is a tract of land facing on the Delaware, now known as Richmond, and forms a part of the city. As Onesimus refused to live so near civilization the deal was repudiated. No official record of this transaction appears to have been made so far as the writer has been able to discover. The Eckerlins and their immediate followers now concluded to journey

[141] The Bauman plantation adjoined the Kloster property.

toward the western wilds of Virginia, and there establish themselves anew. When the news of this determination reached Ephrata, Beissel, as the season was already so far advanced, offered them shelter until spring; this offer, however, was declined and the little caravan started toward the Ohio.

This was about the time when the French were building the chain of forts upon our western frontier. The Eckerlins, however, had but little concern about them, as they were Alsatians and were almost as well versed in the French as in the German tongue.



BOUNDARY STONE BETWEEN PENNSYLVANIA AND VIRGINIA, SHOWING ARMS OF PENN.

On account of the winter having set in early, the journey was attended with much hardship and danger. The route again lay down into the valley of Virginia, where a stop was made, evidently at Funk's, until the winter was over; the journey was then resumed toward the Ohio. Early in the spring they selected a suitable spot near the mouth of a creek which empties into the Monongahela, and made such improvements as enabled them to raise the first year a crop of grain and culinary vegetables sufficient for their use, while the rifle of Gabriel and the rod of Samuel furnished them with an abundance of meat and fish.

Here they built cabins for themselves and erected a mill and planted the fertile bottoms. After they became settled, Gabriel and Samuel followed the chase, while Israel attended to the domestic affairs, and when not otherwise engaged the brothers devoted their spare time in exploring the country and noting its resources and advantages—here again the foresight of the Eckerlins was manifest.

The above account, a contemporary one, gives the exact location as about eight or ten miles below Morgantown the present county seat of Monongahela county, West Virginia. This would indicate that while a part of this settlement was within what is now Greene county, Pennsylvania, the greater part of the 16,000 acres was within



JEPHUNE AND JOTHAM AS PROSPECTORS AND TRAPPERS.

From an old sketch.

the colony of Virginia. This land was then dominated by the Delaware Indians, among whom Samuel Eckerlin was a great favorite, on account of his extending to them his services as a surgeon and physician.

The same old account informs us that after the brothers were established in their new home their clothes were made

chiefly from the skins of wild animals and were easily procured. This gave them a somewhat grotesque appearance. At the same time mystic theology was not neglected and the seventh day was kept holy. The little colony far beyond the march of civilization was at peace with all the world, nor were they molested by savage, French or outlaw. The creek and valley was named after them, and bears the name "Dunker's creek" from the time of Mason and Dixon's survey down to the present day.

While the Eckerlins were developing their lands west of the Alleghanies, matters were not altogether satisfactory at the Kloster, and ended in another exodus of several brethren from the Community, who wended their way to the valley of Virginia and settled on the north fork of the Shenandoah. The most important of these brethren was Brother Ezekiel (Heinrich Sangmeister), usually known as the disgruntled monk of Ephrata.

Heinrich Sangmeister was a native of Prussia, born at Hornburg, August 9, 1723. His father and ancestors for several generations were the schoolmasters of Beddig near Wolfenbüttel. He was brought up in the Lutheran faith and received a liberal education. After his father's death he learned cabinetmaking, and at the age of twenty he came to Philadelphia. Upon his arrival he was indentured as a redemptioner for four years. While in this service he became intimate with a fellow servant, Anton Höllenthal. At this time the Lutheran St. Michael's church on Fifth street above Arch was about being completed, and Sangmeister being an expert mechanic was engaged in raising the steeple or spire. While thus engaged and joking with some ribald associates, he lost his footing and fell, but fortunately in his descent he grasped a piece of scantling with one hand and thus saved his life. This fortunate escape again turned his thoughts to religious matters, and resulted in both Sangmeister and Höllenthal joining the Ephrata Community. The former became

Brother Ezekiel, the latter Brother Antonius. After the departure of the Eckerlins, Ezekiel became restless and longed for life in the solitude. At that time (1750) several of the Brotherhood had left the Kloster and lived in the vicinity as anchorites: Emanuel Eckerlin (Elimelech) lived in a hut built against a rock near Reamstown; he occasionally wrought as a day laborer, and attended the Ephrata services. Others were John Owen, a Welshman, from Nantmel; Peter Gehr, and a visionary named Cratz; while Israel Seymour lived in a cabin on the French creek.

Ezekiel and Antonius finally determined to follow the example of the Eckerlins, in so far as to seek some location far from civilization and there live the life of hermits or recluses, and from the description of the valley of Virginia they made that their goal. The two brethren started upon their journey at midnight, October 2, 1752, without so much as taking leave of the brethren of the Kloster, or even saying farewell. After the midnight mass was over, the two men in place of returning to their *kammer*, silently tramped over Zion hill, crossed the ford over the Cocalico, and wended their steps southward. There was but little moonlight to guide them on their way, but so steady did they walk that by the time that the sun gilded the eastern horizon they were twelve miles from the Kloster. Six more miles were tramped, when they came to a Moravian's house, where a stop was made for refreshment. Thence their course led across the Susquehanna, and down the valley by way of Carlisle and Shippentown. The stop for the Sabbath was made at an Irish tavern on the Conecocheague,[142] here

[142] Conecocheague creek (pronounced *Conny-co-jig*) rises by two branches,—one heading on the boundary between Perry and Franklin counties, and between the North and Tuscarora mountains, and the other near Chambersburg, interlocking with the sources of the Conedogwinit; the two branches flowing to the south, unite between Greencastle and Mercersburg, and, entering Maryland, fall into the Potomac at Williamsport. This stream, from Chambersburg to its mouth, almost everywhere separates the limestone and slate ranges.

they were cordially received and sent upon their way rejoicing.

When the two pilgrims arrived at Henry Funk's they at first lodged in his stable. During the winter the two enthusiasts bound books and taught school; when spring came, six acres of land were bought from Funk whereon they started to build a cabin; before this was done the land was exchanged for two acres of river bottom on the opposite side of the river, and here on the shore of the North fork of the Shenandoah they built their cabin.

When Christopher Sauer learned from old Johannes Hildebrand of Brother Ezekiel's venture, he sent him a copy of his Bible and forty shillings in cash as a present.

After the two men were established on the fertile bottoms within the shadow of the Massanutton mountain, they tilled the land for their sustenance, Antonius taking charge of the domestic cares, while Ezekiel worked at his trade among the neighbors, which brought them ready money for their other necessities.

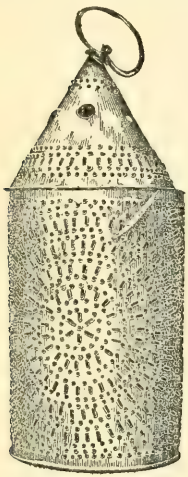
In the early fall of 1753 Ezekiel journeyed to Philadelphia by way of Ephrata and Germantown. At the latter place he was presented by the elder Sauer with an iron stove, which was then a great novelty. Upon his homeward journey, which led through Winchester, where court was then in session, Ezekiel was received with jeers by the assembled farmers, and personal violence was threatened under the apprehension that our recluse was a French spy.

When the two recluses were thoroughly established on the banks of the North fork, they built high up on a prominent point on the northern end of the Massanutton a small cabin as a laura.[143] This was pierced for a single window which faced the east. The furnishings consisted merely of a wooden chair and a small table, together with a charcoal fire-pot of stoneware. The place was designed

[143] *Cf.* German Pietists, pp. 153–244.

for retirement and contemplation, and at the same time to obtain spiritual regeneration and physical perfection, somewhat after the ritual of the Zionitic Brotherhood.

The situation was a peculiar one, and has since become historic, the ledge on account of its wide outlook having served as a signal station for both the Union and Confederate forces during the civil war. The building of this little cabin on the mountain, and the periodical retirement of Ezekiel and Antonius to their laura, their sole sustenance during such times, being merely bread, salt and water, soon aroused the curiosity of the settlers, and set divers reports in motion. While some said they were practicing the hermetic art, others less charitable mooted counterfeiting, while others again claimed that here the Romish mass was celebrated in secret.



ANCIENT TIN LANTERN FOUND IN THE OLD SANGMEISTER HOUSE.

At last information was lodged with the authorities at Winchester, in pursuance of which Colonel James Wood with another military officer and two leading citizens of Frederick rode down to the Massanutton to investigate these charges. When this action became known to Ezekiel the laura was at once demolished.

Colonel Wood, upon his arrival, stated that his mission was a friendly one, and asked for full information. Sangmeister states, "that he opened for them every door and portal." After an inspection of the large house, Col. Wood asked about the cabin on the mountain. When he was told that it was torn down he demanded to be taken to the spot. Ezekiel conducted him, and explained why and wherefor

the laura had been erected and subsequently demolished. The accompanying officer was greatly interested, and said he would cheerfully give a doubloon if the laura were still intact, as it was for so good a purpose. Thus ended the first attempt to practice esoteric mysticism in the valley of Virginia.

An active correspondence was maintained with the Eckerlins, and resulted in a visit from Onesimus and Jotham to the Shenandoah; these visits were returned and repeated and whenever Jephune came to Winchester to sell his peltries and obtain supplies he always made a stay at the settlement at the North fork, bringing with him some sides of smoked bear meat and tallow (*unschlit*). Frequent visits were also received from Ephrata. The little settlement on the Shenandoah now became a distinctive colony of Sabbatarian Dunkers, who kept both the seventh and first day, and were in constant touch with the Beissel and Eckerlin settlements as well as with the Separatists of Germantown.

We left the Eckerlins in their new home in the Dunker bottoms. Brother Ezekiel gives a little insight into their domestic life.[144] They lived, he says, chiefly upon animal food and used very little bread, which diet was distasteful to him. He further says that Israel was busy day and night with his mystic speculations, while Gabriel was engaged in murdering animals all day, and Samuel was kept busy preparing and curing the peltries. Piles of bearskins served as their couch at night, while in one corner of the cabin was a mass of skins which could not have been bought for a hundred pounds sterling. Then back of the chimney hung so many sides of dead bears that it made him shudder merely to look at them. Their chief assistant was a redemption servant, one Johann Schilling, while Daniel Hendricks was the cook for the party. The brothers at that time had no less than twenty-eight horses. Ezekiel says that during

[144] *Sangmeister*, Part II, p. 46.

his sojourn he made window frames, a plow and many other things for their use and comfort. The Eckerlins also cultivated the maple sugar industry, sending syrup and sugar to the settlements.

Samuel (Jephune) was the business man of the party and made regular visits to Winchester and other frontier towns to trade and sell his furs and bear tallow. On several of these occasions he was apprehended and imprisoned as a French spy, and was only released at the intercession of the Governor.

As the Indian troubles increased and the horrors of a border war became more and more imminent, and as the settlement was near to the warpath of the Iroquois,[145] the Delaware Indians sent word to their friend and doctor, Samuel Eckerlin, that it was unsafe for them to remain longer in that exposed place. So they moved their camp to a favorable location upon their tract on the Cheat river. This clearing became known as Dunker's bottom.

Here they spent some years entirely unmolested by the Indians, although a destructive war was then waging and prosecuted with cruelty along the whole extent of the frontier. At length, to obtain an additional supply of ammunition, salt and shirting, Samuel, as was his custom, left the camp on the Cheat in the beginning of March, 1757, with a pack-train of furs and skins, to visit the trading posts on the Shenandoah.

As usual his stopping-place, after his goods were disposed of, was the settlement on the North fork. On the third day of his sojourn Samuel was arrested by three officers as a spy. The prisoner and his papers were taken to Winchester, where he was committed to prison in default of one thousand pounds bail. This was eventually furnished by different settlers on the Shenandoah. The prisoner was released on condition that he was not to leave Frederick

[145] See head-piece to this chapter.

county until an order to that effect was received from the Governor at Williamsburgh. After a delay of several weeks this arrived, and Jephune again rejoined his brethren on the Cheat river.

A subsequent visit had a more tragic ending. It was toward the close of August, 1757, after the harvest was gathered, when Samuel Eckerlin started upon one of his perennial trading trips to the Virginia settlements. Owing to his experiences upon the previous trip in March he had but little trouble at Winchester and on the Shenandoah.

Upon his return he stopped at Fort Pleasant, on the South branch,[146] and, having communicated to its inhabitants the place of his residence and the length of time he had been living there, he was charged with being in confederacy with the Indians and probably at that instant a spy examining the condition of the fort. In vain our German mystic protested his innocence and the fact that he had not even seen any hostile Indians in the country. The suffering condition of the border settlements rendered his account, in their opinion, improbable, and he was put in confinement.

An appeal was again taken to the Governor, and he was released. Hardly had he started upon his homeward journey when a new order was received that a squadron of soldiers should overtake and follow him to the camp on the Cheat river. During the journey our German mystic was treated as a French spy, and was subjected to many indignities. Among others they attempted to bribe him into giving evidence against his brothers as spies and assist in their capture.

When the little cavalcade was within a day's march of Dunker camp a tragic scene was enacted there. Led by a French priest a party of Indians surrounded the house. Being discovered by one of the servants, who gave an alarm,

[146] The location of this fort the writer has been unable to discover.

an attack was made. Schilling and Jotham were quickly captured. Onesimus, who was engaged in writing a polemic to Ephrata,[147] would neither defend himself nor attempt to escape, he having absolute faith in divine protection. His faith in this case was of but little avail, as he was seized and met with the same fate as his brother. The other members of the household were killed and scalped, while the two brothers and Schilling were held as captives. The cabins were then pilfered and burned. Twelve horses were loaded with plunder; the rest were killed.



As a matter of fact this raid upon the Eckerlin settlement was not a military nor political one, but was executed purely through religious motives, the object being the extermination of a heretical community within the bounds of French territory. This is the only known case of religious persecution by the Roman Catholic clergy in provincial Pennsylvania.

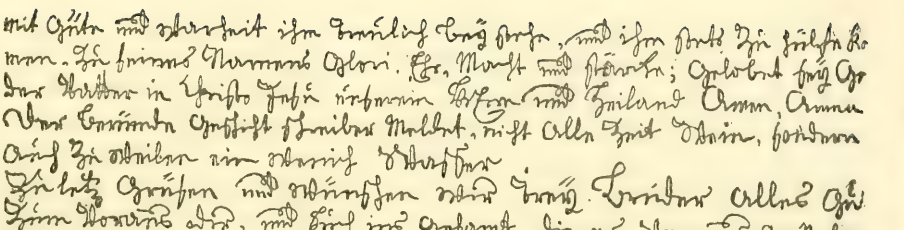
The sight that met Jephune and his party was a surprise, and, sadly, ample proof of the truth of his assertions. The cabins were in ashes, a smouldering ruin; the half-decaying

[147] One of these missives, written by Onesimus and sent to Ephrata, is now in the collection of the writer. It is dated "In the distant, great, and high and broad extending Alleghany Mountains, November 7, 1756." This missive, which was addressed to "Dearly Beloved Brother Jaebez," consists of no less than 192 closely-written pages, averaging 36 lines to the page. It is mentioned in the Kloster Diary that the reading consumed over five hours. This polemic was bound and formed a part of the Kloster library. In closing the former Prior says:

"Finally we three brothers greet you and wish you all good. Primarily for yourself, and then all of you collectively. Such as will receive it from us we commend unto the helpful grace of God. May it extend over you all with goodness, love and mercy from now unto all eternity.

"From me, your Christian admirer and well-wisher,

BROTHER ONESIMUS LEIDSELIG (Useful but Blissful Mourner.)"



Close of one of the Sermons sent by Onesimus to Ephrata, which took Five Hours to Read.

Original in possession of the writer.

and multilated bodies of the murdered Dunkers and the carcasses of the beasts were seen strewed about; while the hoops on which the scalps had been dried were there, and the ruthless hand of desolation was visible everywhere.

The soldiers buried the remains, and Jephune, after taking a sorrowful farewell of the sad scene, ignorant of his brother's fate, returned with the party to the South branch, no longer a prisoner or suspected spy.

The fate of the three prisoners was for a long time shrouded in mystery. Nothing definite was known, although there were rumors that they were alive and held as prisoners by the French clericals, either in Canada or France. While in this state of uncertainty Jephune left no stone unturned to learn of their fate and to secure their release if alive. It was not until after a lapse of three years and several months, after the escape and return of Johann Schilling, that the veil was partially lifted and the particulars of their fate became known.

After their capture by the Indians and the destruction of the settlement the French leader who had led the party started for Fort Duquesne, making a wide detour for fear that the English would overtake them and deprive them of their valuable prizes. It was not until the seventh day after the massacre when they arrived in sight of the fort upon the opposite side of the river. During the march the two brothers were kept securely bound and got but little to eat. Schilling was left free and well fed. All attempts to relieve the wants of his former masters were severely punished by the captors.

Arriving at the end of their journey, they were first ordered to cut off their long beards. They were then stripped of their clothing and put into a canoe and headed for the fort. When near shore they were thrown into the water and pelted with stones by both French and Indians on the shore. Both brothers were insensible when dragged

out of the water. This the French fiends called their baptism. To further aggravate their suffering and to please the assembled French one of the Indians scalped Jotham.

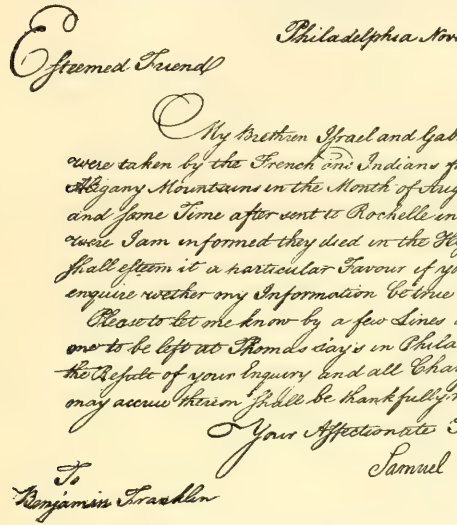
Upon their delivery into the fort they were not entered as prisoners of war, but of the church and as dangerous heretics. The commanding officer, learning of the barbarous treatment, being a soldier and of a more humane disposition, ordered his men to cease these barbarities so long as the prisoners were under his charge, and that the prisoners be left to him for the time being. Each Indian received a blanket and a pair of leggings as his share of the raid. Schilling was kept by the Indians as their slave.

At the request of the clericals in the fort the two brothers were sent, under a strong guard, to Montreal, where they were placed in a Jesuit institution as dangerous heretics, all intercourse with the outside world being forbidden. Thence they were sent to Quebec, where they suffered greatly from hunger, confinement and disease. Eventually they were sent to France, where, it is said, they died as prisoners in a monastery. Others, again, say they died at sea. According to the *Chronicon:*

"They indeed arrived there (France), but both afflicted with a distemper which also transported them to eternity. The prior, Onesimus, when he felt his end approaching, had himself received as a member of an order of monks of the Roman Church, which is the more credible, as he had always entertained a particular esteem for friars. They gave him the tonsure and afterward called him Bon Chrétien (Good Christian). Soon after both brothers departed this life."

There is, however, nothing to prove the truth of the above statement. It was not until seven years after their capture that definite rumors reached Ephrata as to the fate of the two brothers. Jephune at once wrote a letter of inquiry to Benjamin Franklin, who was then in France.

This letter is among the Franklin correspondence in the possession of the American Philosophical Society:



Philadelphia Novem.r 5.th 1764

Honored Friend

My Brethren Israel and Gabriel Eckerlin were taken by the French and Indians from the Allegany Mountains in the Month of August 1757 and some Time after sent to Rochelle in France where I am informed they died in the Hospital I shall esteem it a particular Favour if you will enquire wether my Information be true or not — Please to let me know by a few Lines directed to me to be left at Thomas's Tavern in Philadelphia the Result of your Inquiry and all Charges that may accrue thereon shall be thankfully repaid by

Your Affectionate Friend &c.

Samuel Eckerlin

To

Benjamin Franklin

That Samuel Eckerlin had misgivings of the advisability for continuing the settlement on the Cheat river some time before the final massacre is shown by the fact that several months before he, together with Heinrich Sangmeister, bought of Jacob Funk 150 acres of land for sixty-five pounds. This was a part of the 320 acres conveyed to the latter by Johann Funk in January, 1744. The title was vested in the two purchasers.[148] This was all fertile bottom land and was bounded by the river on the north.

Two months later, July 6, 1757, Samuel Eckerlin, upon his own account, bought of William Russell 140 acres ad-

[148] Original deed in possession of Major J. H. Newell, the present owner.

ditional land, adjoining the other tract. This he held in fee simple.[149]

Here Samuel took refuge after his return from the Cheat river, and under his active administration the locality became the nucleus for a settlement of Dunkers from Ephrata and Germantown.

A new community house was built for the six celibates, Ezekiel, Antonius, Haggai, Elkanah, Beno and Jephune. A room was fitted up in the house as an apothecary and laboratory for the latter, who resumed his practice among the Germans. A part of this house is still standing, and has been used as a dwelling and farm-house ever since the sale of the property by Sangmeister's executors to Jonas Creabill, October 2, 1801. The old well-curb, with curious windlass and pulley, made by Sangmeister, is still in use and as good as when made a century and a half ago. It forms the medallion in our illustrations.



SPECIMEN OF EARLY GERMAN POTTERY IN SHENANDOAH VALLEY.
Original 10 inches high.

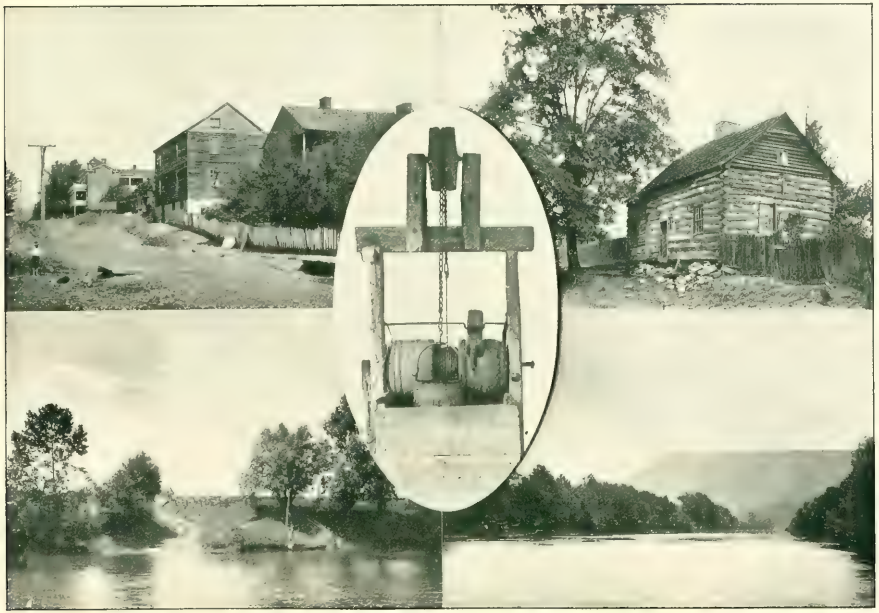
Among other industries established by these thrifty German settlers was the pottery industry, which flourishes in the vicinity of Strasburg down to the present day. The first kiln was erected, it appears, by Brother Sirone,[150] from Germantown, on the community grounds.

October 4, 1763, Eckerlin and Sangmeister bought of the Russel estate an additional tract of seventy-three acres adjoining the first-named tract. Their land now extended to the foot of the Massanutton mountain.

Frequent reports of Indian incursions at times alarmed the frontier settlements, and numerous outrages were re-

[149] Ibid.

[150] A son of Dr. Sirone of Germantown.



VIEWS IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

DUNKER'S WELL, TOWN LOT, No. 7, IN STRASBURG.

LOG CABIN BUILT BY HESSIAN PRISONERS, TOWN LOT, No. 17.

ANCIENT WELL CURB AND WINDLASS ON NEWEL FARM MADE BY SANGMEISTER.

ECKERLIN FORD OVER THE NORTH FORK.

VIEW DOWN THE RIVER, SHOWING MASSANUTTON MOUNTAIN.

ported, which caused the celibates to be again looked upon with much suspicion and brought frequent visits from the authorities. Upon several occasions, when the alarm increased and the danger appeared imminent, the home of the celibates was used as a house of refuge and prayer. Many cases are upon record where German settlers fell a victim to the fury of the savages. Thus, in the year 1758, a party of Indians penetrated the Mill creek country nine miles south of Woodstock, and, after committing some murders, carried off no less than 48 persons into captivity, all of whom were Germans.



TRIALS OF THE GERMAN PIONEER IN THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA.

Beside the Eckerlins there was another of the Ephrata brotherhood whose earthly career was ended by the tomahawk of the savage. This was Heinrich Zinn, who left the Kloster shortly after the Eckerlins and went to the Valley of Virginia. He was living at the time with a family named Bingamann, near the present site of New Market. When the Indians attacked the house a determined defense was made by Bingamann, who was both stout and active. He called to Zinn to come to his assistance. The latter, however, failed to respond. Bingamann laid low two of the savages. According to another account he killed five. The

savages succeeded, however, in killing his wife and children and the peaceful Zinn. Bingamann escaped with several wounds, from which he finally recovered.

As the war clouds thickened in July, 1764, and the danger appeared threatening, the celibate colony, consisting of 26 persons, came to Pennsylvania and distributed themselves between Ephrata and Germantown. Among these refugees were the Kölbs and Luthers, who became the surviving celibates of the Ephrata Kloster.

After the Indian troubles were settled, and the danger over, a number of the Ephrata celibates and Germantown Dunkers returned to the Shenandoah. Others took up lots in the new town of Stövertown (Strasburg) and erected mills and potteries in the vicinity.

Thus in May, 1771, Brother Antonius (Höllenthal) took title to town lot No. 7. Upon this lot a little meeting-house was built for the Sabbatarians. In front of this was a fine well of water, shaded by an apple tree. This well is still known as the "Dunker's Well." A kiln was also built upon the upper end of this lot, and is still in use. Two specimens of early pottery from this kiln are used to illustrate this chapter, from originals in possession of the writer. The property is now owned by Amos Keister's family. In 1776 Antonius bought another of the town lots, known on the plan as No. 17. Upon this lot is still to be seen one of the log cabins built by the Hessian prisoners during the Revolution.

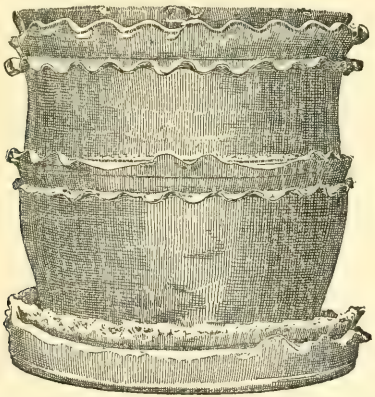


GOURD DIPPER FOUND IN THE LOFT OF THE HESSIAN CABIN
Size 15 x 6 ins.

The following tribute to the German Sectarians who settled in the Valley of Virginia is from the pen of a traveler in this section during the French and Indian war, and will form a fitting close to this chapter:

"The low grounds upon the banks of the Shenandoah are very rich and fertile. They are chiefly settled by Ger-

mans, who gain a sufficient livelihood by raising stock for the troops and sending butter down into the lower parts of the country. I could not but reflect with pleasure on the situation of these people and think if there is such a thing as happiness in this life they enjoy it. Far from the bustle of the world, they live in the most delightful climate and richest soil imaginable. They are everywhere surrounded with beautiful prospects and sylvan scenes; lofty mountains, transparent streams, falls of water, rich valleys and majestic woods, the whole interspersed with an infinite variety of flowering shrubs, constitute the landscape surrounding them. They are subject to few diseases, are generally robust, and live in perfect liberty. They are ignorant of want and are acquainted with but few vices. Their inexperience of the elegancies of life precludes any regret that they have not the means of enjoying them; but they possess what many princes would give half their dominions for,—health, content, and tranquillity of mind."



Ornamental Flower Pot by A. Keister, from the Kiln on the Höllenthal Lot in Strasburg.




## CHAPTER XVII.

### SNOW HILL.

SNOW HILL Institute, in Franklin county, situated on one of the branches of the Antietam, is the direct outcome of a settlement of Sabbatarians originally located about a half or three-quarters of a mile south of the present farm and buildings locally known as the Snow Hill Nunnery, or more generally for short simply as the "Nunnery." The Waynesboro & Mount Alto railroad has a station on the property, which is officially known by the latter name.

The name Snow Hill, or *Schneeberg*, takes its name from one of the later accessions to the Sabbatarian faith, the Schneeberger family, who for a time were quite prominent in the vicinity, and when the Antietam congregation flourished and an effort was made to gather together a number from Ephrata, Bermudian and Antietam and erect an institution similar to the one on the Cocalico, gave a portion of their property for the purposes of the congregation. This

effort resulted in a partial success; here the attempt was made early in the nineteenth century to perpetuate the mysticism taught and practiced at Ephrata,—but in a more superficial manner. Efforts were also made to practice and teach the peculiar and ornamental style of penmanship of the Ephrata Kloster. Early in the century attention was also given to perpetuate the peculiar system of music and harmony originated by Conrad Beissel. Here also one of the Ephrata printing presses was brought and set up until it was finally moved to Morrison's Cove.

The Antietam church proper dates from the reception of George Adam Martin and George Horn, members of the Germantown Baptists, into the Sabbatarian fold in 1763.[151] This was made the occasion of considerable ceremony, at the end of which Beissel dismissed them with letters to the brethren at the Bermudian, and sent two of his most trusty supporters, Lamech and Jehoiada after them, charging them to tell the brethren there to receive Brother Martin as if it were himself.

What the result of this visit was does not appear, but it seems that Martin did not long remain there, as in the next year, 1764, we find him preaching a revival on the southern border of the province. This movement culminated in the organizing of a new congregation in one of the fertile valleys formed by a spur of the South Mountain, where the East Antietam creek rushes and makes its way across Mason and Dixon's line. When Beissel learned of this awakening he called the congregation at Antietam, from this period on, the *Adlers-kirche* (Eagle-church), after the fourth beast in the Apocalypse, a name which, however, was never accepted by the people of the congregation. The *Chronicon* mentions that there was another secret connected with this name: "The Superintendent, who, during his whole awakened condition, stood in the service of the four

[151] Date 1764, found in the *Chronicon*, is an error.

beasts, about this time came under the dominion of the Eagle; wherefore the renewal of the Eagle's youth showed itself so much in him that he was entirely pervaded by it during his old age."

A hymn of no less than 106 stanzas was composed for the occasion, setting forth the royal eagle spirit of the Church in its upward flight. It was set to the melody *Wie schön ist unsers Königs-Braut.*

Der Adler in dem Kirchenlauf,
Schwingt seine flügel freudig auf;
Er siehet wie die Sonne steigt,
Und wie das Kirchenheer sich neigt,
Zur Demuth in der Hoffnung besserer Zeit,
Drum wächst der Kirchen-Zweig und hoch sich freut.

Er siehet wie schön jetzt anbricht,
Die Morgenröth, das Tagelicht,
Wie bald der Morgenröthe Thau,
Sich Ausbreit dass der Kirchenbau;
Von Statten geh, die Kinder die vom Herrn
Geboren, gelehrt nun werden nah und fern.

As glowing reports of this awakening continued to reach Ephrata, Beissel concluded to make a personal visit to the new church. To make this doubly impressive he concluded to go in state, as it were, and in the month of July organized a pilgrimage to the new field of activity. The party was composed of the most venerable of the three orders. The single brethren were led by Beissel himself; the Roses of Saron by Maria, the prioress, while the secular congregation was represented by the most venerable of the housefathers.

The party was divided into three companies for the journey, and all were robed in the Ephrata habit. They were partly on horseback and partly on foot. The mode of travel was that one of the divisions started on horseback and rode a certain number of miles, the horses were then left, and they started ahead on foot for an equal distance. When



J. F. SACHSE, PHOTO.

## GLIMPSES AT THE SNOW HILL NUNNERY.

ENTRANCE TO KAMMERS.

KITCHEN OF SISTER HOUSE.

SAAL.

GENERAL VIEW FROM SOUTH.

VIEW FROM THE MEADOW.

PORCH OLD BROTHER HOUSE.

NORTH FRONT.

the second division reached the horses they mounted and rode ahead for an equal distance; the same process being repeated until the end of the journey. The third division, led by Beissel, traveled entirely on foot. The *Chronicon* says: "He made this whole journey on foot, except when they forced him to make use of a horse, and then he said, 'In this way I cannot be edifying to anyone.'" In this lively spirit he was seen to travel over mountains and valleys, and no hut was too poor for him to enter with his company. During the whole journey the Superintendent gave singular evidences of his humility and obedience. He never sat down in a house until the father of the house showed him a seat.

The first stop was made with the congregation at the Bermudian. The chief events of the pilgrimage, however, were the meetings at Antietam, where the company arrived during the last week in July.

Beissel and the Prioress Maria had brought with them all of the robes of state made during the Eckerlin *régime*, so that when, at the very first service, Beissel, Jaebez and the Prioress donned their ecclesiastical finery a great sensation thus aroused, the achieving the object intended by the leaders. Beissel was declared a *Pontifex Maximus* by the assemblage, and the fires of mystic religion were kindled, the enthusiasm spreading over the sparsely settled country far and near among the Germans, who were then without any teachers of the orthodox faiths.

It was during one of these meetings, while Beissel was exhorting the people, that news was received, by the arrival of a breathless postrider, of the murder, by the Indians, upon the day before (July 26, 1764,) of the schoolmaster Enoch Brown and seven of his scholars. The scene of this massacre was but a short distance from Greencastle and a few miles from the spot where the Magus of the Cocalico was then preaching. Beissel, in the face of this great danger

to the exposed settlers, counseled trust in the Almighty and deprecated a recourse to firearms and retaliation.

Before the Ephrata contingent left for home George Adam Martin was installed as the teacher and guide of the Antietam congregation.

So great was the excitement attending this awakening that it spread from the Antietam to the Bermudian, and the mother community on the Cocalico for a time became the Mecca of the German Sectarians in the Cumberland valley. Visitors were continually on the march to and fro, and the calls for the personal services of Beissel were so urgent that within six weeks after his return to Ephrata he had to make another journey to the Antietam congregation. The *Chronicon* informs us that "Those at Antietam reciprocated by many a fatiguing journey to Ephrata. For at that time the fire burnt in the Philadelphia church, which each and everyone at Antietam tried to keep up, even at the risk of his earthly possessions."

After the death of Beissel the Antietam branch for a time showed even more vitality than the parent stem. The teachers were Brothers Martin and George Horn, who labored under the careful and constant supervision of Prior Jaebez, the successor to Beissel as head of the Ephrata settlement, and the congregation continued to flourish even after that at Ephrata commenced to show unmistakable signs of decay. A voluminous correspondence was exchanged between the parties, and frequent visits to and fro were made.

Among the early settlers in the Antietam country was a certain Swiss, Hans Schneeberger, who came over in 1750 with his wife and seven children,—five boys, Uhly, Hans, Joseph, Andreas and Jacob (the latter by a second wife) and two daughters, Anna and Maria.[152]

Andreas, who was nine years of age when he came to

[152] *Vide* Appendix.

this country, married, about the time of the above Sabbatarian revival, Barbara Karber, a daughter of one Melchior Karber. All of these persons were Dunkers. At one of the Antietam services during Beissel's exhortation Barbara was convinced of the truth of the Ephrata doctrine, was baptized by Beissel, and henceforth kept the seventh day. This caused trouble between her and Andreas, and ended by her taking her child up in her arms and starting to walk to Ephrata for conscience sake. After tramping over the mountain for a distance of four miles she stopped at a house for the night. Early in the next morning her husband arrived with a pair of horses and offered to grant her desires in relation to the Sabbath if she would but return. Shortly after this episode Andreas was also baptized, and their home became a rallying-place for the Sabbath-keepers between the Bermudian and Antietam and the Conocohegue.

As Prior Jaebez felt the infirmities of age gradually but surely creeping upon him, and the cares of his home congregation becoming more burdensome, he prayed for guidance, that the Spirit might disclose unto him a fitting person as teacher of the Antietam church. At that time there was at Ephrata a devout young man, Peter Lehman, of Amish birth, but now a member of the Ephrata Community. He was born May 24, 1757, at the Glades.[153] He was first sent to the Antietam as a lay brother. Early in September, 1788, he was notified by letter, dated August 26, 1788, from Prior Jaebez, that the Spirit had revealed unto him that he, Peter Lehman, was to be consecrated as leader of the new congregation.[154]

Peter Lehman accepted the trust, and toward the close of the eighteenth century organized his congregation into a community, somewhat after the Ephrata brother- and sisterhood, which flourished, with varying periods of success, for

[153] In Somerset county.

[154] Letter in possession of the writer.

over half a century. Early in the nineteenth century the community established themselves upon the grounds now known as the "Nunnery."

Andreas Schneeberger (or Snowberger), about the time he was married, took up a tract of land, now known as the Nunnery property, and erected a log house upon the high ground about a fourth of a mile south of the present group of buildings. The meetings of the congregation were at first held in the different houses and barns of the members.

After the advent of Peter Lehman in the vicinity the necessity for a regular place of worship became more and more apparent, and the desire for a communal life became stronger. To accommodate the wants of the congregation a large stone house was built on the Snow Hill property in 1793. It stood where the first brick building at the west end of the present group now stands.

At the beginning of the century (1800) the Snowberger family consisted of Andreas, the father; Barbara, the mother, and eight children, three boys and five girls. Three had married and commenced housekeeping. All were Sabbatarians. Of the children who remained at home two daughters, Barbara and Elizabeth, and one son, John, favored the founding of a community similar to that at Ephrata.

Eventually a deed was made by Andreas Snowberger to a Board of Trustees for "certain specified purposes forever." Settlements were made with the married heirs of the Snowbergers and a bond for sixteen hundred dollars was given to the grantor. The community was now fairly launched, and in 1814 the first community house was built. This was the original Cloister. It is the brick house standing the third from the west end of the present group. It had two stories and measured forty feet in length by thirty in width. At the east end, on the upper floor, was the saal or chapel. Here the meetings were held until 1829, when the meeting-house in the meadow was built, on the other side of the creek.

The second house of the present group was built in 1835. This filled the space between the brick house and the stone house built in 1793. This house was thirty feet square and also two stories in height. It was mainly intended for the holding of love-feasts and other religious gatherings. The second floor was set aside as a chapel. In 1838 the old stone house was demolished and the present brick house built in its place as a Brotherhouse. It also measures 40 feet by 30 feet.

The house which forms the eastern end of the group was built in 1843, and intended as a Sisterhouse. It also measures 40x30. In this group of houses there were about forty *kammers*, or sleeping-rooms, and nine community rooms. This group of buildings is yet, on the eve of the twentieth century, standing, and is partly used by the tenant farmer of the property. The greater part of the buildings, with their numerous small chambers, long halls and saal, are silent and unoccupied, and the property, on account of its monetary value, has of late attracted the avarice of some local attorneys, who have taken steps to have it escheated to the State and at the same time to enrich themselves.

The God's acre of the old congregation is at the extreme end of the tract, facing the road leading to Quincy. In the upper end of the little graveyard is a bluish marble stone about three feet high and twenty inches wide. This marks the grave of Peter Lehman, who is usually called the father of the Snow Hill community in its present location. The old tomb bears a German inscription, cut in Roman letters, which, translated, reads :

Here rest the mortal remains of Peter Lehman. Was born on the 24th of May, 1757, and passed from time to eternity on the 4th of January, 1823. Aged 65 years, 7 months and 11 days.

On the opposite side of the stone is the following:

Peter Lehman, upright in walk, righteous in life, just in faith, patient in hope, brings a blessed end.

Look at me. I have had for a short time toil and labor. And have found great comfort. For the Lord has appeared unto me from afar. For the weary souls He will, revive and the troubled souls He will comfort.

Following the vicissitudes of the old congregation we find that the most prosperous period of the Snow Hill institution appears to have been the decades between 1820–1840. The number of single persons, of both sexes, residing upon the grounds during that period ranged from 20 to 30. The latter was the largest number residing within the group of buildings at any one time.

A letter in the collection of the writer gives an interesting account of the kloster life during the early part of the present century. But at the best it was but a paraphrase of the Ephrata life of the former century. The brother here tells us the great bell was rung twenty minutes before five o'clock in the morning. This was the rising bell. At five o'clock the small bell was rung as a signal for the inmates to assemble in their respective dining rooms, and for fifteen or twenty minutes hymns were sung out of the *Weyrauchs Hügel.*

At half past six breakfast was announced, after which one, two or three verses were sung out of the *Psalterspiel.* Dinner was ready at half past eleven, while supper was served at half past five. Singing and prayer were in order at both meals.

Every evening at eight o'clock, except Friday and the Sabbath, the large bell was sounded for service in the Saal, when all celibates were supposed to be present. The order of service was, first, hymn-singing from the *Turtel Taube* (known at Snow Hill as the *Tauben-gesang*, Song of the Doves) of 1747, for about fifteen minutes, followed by a

reading from Beissel's dissertations or epistles for about the same length of time, the services ending with more singing.

On Friday evening, which was the beginning of the Sabbath, the bell was sounded at half past seven. At this meeting there was usually a sermon. On the morning of the Sabbath the bell was rung at eight o'clock, when a similar service was held.

At two o'clock in the afternoon there was a service in the Saal, with choir singing, which usually consisted of a five-part choral, although in Elizabeth Snowberger's time she would occasionally attempt a sixth part. A number of the Ephrata musical scores were brought to Snow Hill toward the close of the eighteenth century. Many of these were copied and duplicated at Snow Hill during its flourishing period. Some specimens of both of the above are now in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and of the writer.

Peter Lehman was succeeded in his ministrations by Andreas Fahnestock, whom he ordained shortly before his death. At the same time the old teacher appointed Brothers Andreas Schneeberger and Abraham Ely as deacons to aid and assist him.

Andreas Fahnestock, who was somewhat of an eccentric character, served the congregation until February 16, 1842, when Brother Benjamin Specht was appointed deacon and teacher. His term was but a short one, as he was called to join the church triumphant May 5, 1843, at the early age of thirty-one years. Andreas Fahnestock again assumed charge, serving alternately at Ephrata and Snow Hill. It was at the beginning of the Fahnestock administration that a regular organization was perfected, under the corporate title of the "Seventh Day Baptist Church at Snow Hill," and regular minutes were kept. The old minute-book of the corporation is now in the possession of the writer.[156]

[156] For a list of baptisms and deaths see Appendix.

Many are the stories told about Andreas Fahnestock and his peculiarities. A cousin of his, Charles, for a time kept the old Warren tavern in the Great Chester valley. Andreas was an occasional visitor at the old inn, and he became quite a familiar figure on the road between Downingtown and the "Warren," and, on account of his originality



ANDREAS FAHNESTOCK (NOV. 19, 1781-FEB. 5, 1863).

From a pencil sketch made while preaching in the Saal at Ephrata.

and appearance, always attracted the attention of strangers. He always travelled on foot, dressed in a long drab coat, wearing a broad-brimmed white hat, and carrying his long staff in his hand. At one time he was quite wealthy, but gave all his wealth to the poor, saying, "The Lord would never suffer him to want." He would never receive any



SNOW HILL CHAPEL AND KITCHEN.

salary for his services as preacher, trusting entirely to the Lord for his support.

The preacher, on his journeys along the turnpike, was often made the subject of the jokes of teamsters who met him, but, as we would say at the present day, upon such times Andreas always came out ahead. Upon one of these occasions a teamster asked him if he believed in the devil. Andreas answered that "he read about him in his Bible." The wagoner then asked him if he ever saw the devil. The reply he got was, "I never want to see him plainer than I do just now." The ribald teamster had no further questions to ask.

The old Sabbatarian patriarch lived until 1863. He died on the fifth of February, honored and respected by all who knew him, and was buried in the Snow Hill burying-ground.

After the nineteenth century had passed into its latter half the community at Snow Hill gradually declined until at last there was but a single sister, Zenobia, remaining in the kloster, while Brother Obed (Snowberger) lived in his cabin near the mill. Both have long since passed away, and the property, unused for its original purposes, stands as a mark for the cupidity of unprincipled persons who strive to wrest it from the present Sabbatarian congregation, the rightful owners of the estate. The church building, erected in 1829 by the secular congregation, stands within the grounds in the meadow, a short distance from the kloster group.

After this digression we will again resume our narrative in its chronological order.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

### EXORCISM OF FIRE.



THE Ephrata buildings, it will be recalled, were all built of wood; even the large chimney flues were originally of that inflammable material, lined with clay or grout, as may be seen by a visit to the loft of the old Brotherhouse, which is still standing.

It has often been a matter of surprise that during the whole history of the mystic community on the Cocalico there was never any loss by fire among the buildings within the settlement proper; although, according to Sangmeister, several attempts were made to fire the buildings. There is, however, a record of two incendiary fires at the mill-seat of the Community,—the first, upon the night of September 6, 1747, destroyed three out of five mills; the other in September, 1784, was extinguished without doing any material damage. This immunity from the devouring element has been attributed to the mystic ritual used by the Brotherhood, which was believed to control the element of fire.

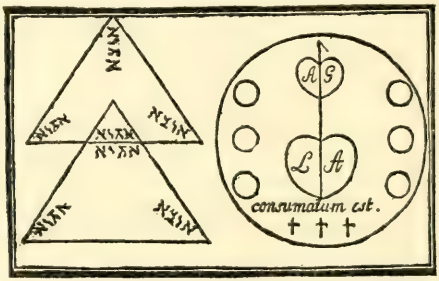
During the early part of last century the belief in the exorcism of fire was almost universal among the German peasantry in this Province, as it was in the Fatherland. Various were the formulas, receipts, and *Feuer-segen* which, it was believed, would extinguish a conflagration. The means, however, employed by the Zionitic Brotherhood for the protection of the Cloister buildings were supposed to be both protective and preventive.

The procedure was as follows: A wooden plate or platter was taken, similar to the one, used for sacramental purposes, to be seen in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This was placed upon the communion table in the Saal, to remain there during a certain phase of the moon, until the proper day and hour arrived to give it the mystical inscription from which it was to derive its occult power and thereby ensure its efficiency. The only day upon which this power could be obtained was a certain Friday in the waning moon, and then only between the hours of eleven and twelve at night, using a new quill pen, also plucked from the goose at night during the decline of the lunar orb. The ink or pigment to be used must be freshly made from gall-apples gathered from a gnarled oak in or near a graveyard. No iron was to be used in its preparation.

At the appointed time certain mystical incantations were spoken over the platter; then three circles were drawn perpendicularly on opposite sides of the plate; then a centre line was drawn, not extending to the edges, and at the top the line was curved so as to form a hook. Two hearts were then drawn so that one-half of each heart was upon either side of the line, the upper one being somewhat smaller than the other. On the left side of the upper heart was drawn the letter A, either in Latin or Hebrew characters. Upon the right side appeared the letter G. Upon the lower heart the letters L and A were placed in the same order.

Below these figures were the words *Consumatum est*, and beneath all were three crosses † † †.

The meaning of the inscription is as follows: The mystical letters A, G, L, A, by themselves, denote nothing. To the initiate of the Zionitic Brotherhood they assumed great importance when properly used. The proper reading




is from left to right, viz., A, G, L, A, and represent four Hebrew words, *Attah*, *Gibbohr*, *Leolam*, *Adonai;* or, as rendered in German, *Du bist stark in Ewigkeit HERR.* (The Lord is strong and mighty in all eternity). The Latin inscription *Consumatum est* is the utterance of Christ upon the cross, "It is finished."

These plates were built in the walls or foundations of the houses. If the writer mistakes not it was at the four corners of the building. It is further stated that there is no case on record where any house or building thus protected ever became a prey to the flames. In the event of the burning of any building not thus protected the belief was that if a platter of this kind were thrown into the burning building in the name of God the fire would at once die out.

This was not the only method of conquering fire by con-

juration. So firmly was the belief in *Feuer-besprechung* engrafted upon the popular mind that some persons who knew the ritual or formula were eagerly sought out by the German settlers to furnish them with the means of subduing any fire which might break out upon their premises.

In the Fatherland the Jews, gypsies, colliers and ash-burners were supposed to be in possession of the fire formulas. One of the commonest methods of the Hebrew exorcist was for the operator, in case of an outbreak of fire, to take a pan of live coals in his left hand and a can of water in his right. He would then place himself facing the burning building, staring fixedly at the fire, and repeat, in either Hebrew or German, by syllables, the second verse of the eleventh chapter of the fourth book of Moses (Numbers), *Da schrie das Volk zu Mose und Moses bat den Herrn, da verschwand das Feuer*, "And the people cried unto Moses; and when Moses prayed unto the Lord the fire was quenched." At the enunciation of every syllable the exorciser would pour some water on the pan of coals. The belief was that when these were extinguished the fire would also go out or be easily conquered.

Another method, and possibly the one most in favor, was by means of an amulet or *Feuer-zettel.* This consisted of a piece of paper or parchment upon which was drawn the shield of David; that is, a figure formed of two equilateral triangles, interlaced in such a manner as to give seven angles, in each of which was written, in either Hebrew or Latin characters, the four mystic letters A, G, L, A, or else the sacred name ADONAI.



The sacred name or formula, it will be noticed, was introduced seven times into this figure. In case of a conflagration this mystic formula was to be quickly drawn, with

chalk or charcoal, upon such buildings as were threatened but had not yet ignited. According to an old tradition it was by this means that the two mills of the Ephrata congregation were saved at the time of the incendiary fire in 1747. To still the fire in the burning buildings the above-quoted verse, from Numbers, was to be quickly written on a wooden platter, paper or breadcrust, carried thrice around the burning building, and then thrown into the flames.

There was an Israelite in the Province, at an early date, who was particularly expert in the preparation of such amulets. Perhaps it was the same person who is noted in Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, under date of August, 1735, as being his debtor for Crown paper to the extent of two shillings. Franklin there calls him "Levi, the Jew." Another curious fact connected with these *Feuer-zettel* was that, to ensure efficiency, no money could be asked for them. The party who prepared them laid them upon a table, the receiver left the remuneration in its place, folded in a triangular piece of white paper. The implied understanding, however, was that if a sufficient sum was not left the charm would not work. The amount was usually one or two shillings.

Another favorite method for conquering the devouring element was by means of the so-called *Feuer-segen.* This was a rhythmical incantation, which could only be communicated from one person to another of the opposite sex, and then only under certain conditions, for it had to be done upon a Friday, full moon, at night, between the hours of eleven and twelve. As it could only be transmitted by word of mouth, and never by writing, the teacher and pupil stood at opposite sides of a table upon which lighted candles were placed; the left hand of each was laid upon the heart; with the right hand three crosses were struck over the breast at the end of each line, the pupil repeating after his teacher as follows:

Feuer, steh still, um Gottes Will ;
Um des Herrn Jesu Christi willen !
Feuer, steh still in deiner Gluth,
Wie Christus der Herr ist gestanden in seinem rosinen-farbnem Blut !
Feuer und Gluth, Ich gebeut dir bei Gottes Namen
Dass du nicht weiter kommst van dannen,
Sondern behaltest alle deine Funken und Flammen.
Amen ! Amen ! Amen !

Translated into English it would read :

Fire, stand still, for God's sake ;
For the Lord Jesus Christ's sake.
Fire, stand still in your consuming flame,
As Christ, the Lord, stood in his crimson-colored blood.
Fire and Flame, I command you, in the name of God,
That you go not further from hence,
But confine all of your sparks and flames.
Amen ! Amen ! Amen !

This fire-spell was, perhaps, the favorite one with the early settlers in the Province, and it has maintained itself even down to the present day. It was known as the *Der Christliche Feuer-segen* (The Christian fire conjuration), and was impotent in the possession of an Israelite. The method of using it was, in case of the outbreak of a fire, for the conjuror to hold two straws crosswise in his right hand and then slowly repeat the *Feuer-segen*, the firm belief being that so long as he held the crossed straws the flames could make no headway.

Various signs and omens were also thought to foretell the outbreak of a fire. Thus, when a dog howled it was supposed to portend a fire. The omen most feared, however, was when a clock struck the hour during the tolling of a church bell. This was believed to be a sure sign of a conflagration during the next twenty-four hours within the sound of the bell. So firmly was this believed that almost all sextons and bellringers were careful to avoid such coincidence.

In the event of a barn or stable taking fire in some mys-

terious manner, such as where no lights or fire were upon the premises, the common belief was that it was caused by the ordinary horned beetle, which was supposed to carry with its claws upon its head live coals from the hearth in the house to the haymow or stable. Whenever no direct cause could be assigned for a stable fire it was invariably laid to this harmless insect.

The writer will now touch upon the bespeaking of fire, usually called "pow-wowing a burn" or "fire-blowing," a method of curing minor ills which still has a strong hold upon the credulity of the rural inhabitants in Eastern Pennsylvania. To prove the latter assertion it is but simply necessary to mention that within the last ten years a book of forms has been published for private circulation. The formula for "bespeaking" or "blowing" a burn, or taking out the fire, was a scriptural one, communicable only from one person to another of the opposite sex. We will close the chapter with an illustration drawn from personal experience.

When quite a small lad I was taken upon a visit to an old man in Flourtown, on the Springhouse pike, a short distance above Germantown. The immediate object of this visit was to obtain from him an old German folio Bible of family interest, and which is still in my possession. Boy-like, after dinner I strayed from the house, and before long found myself in the village smithy, and, by some means or other, picked up a piece of hot iron. The result was a badly-burned hand. Running back across the pike into the house, howling as loudly as a strong pair of lungs would permit, everyone in the house soon knew just what had happened.

Now, what to do was the question. Neither molasses, linseed oil nor limewater was to be had upon the spur of the moment. So the old gentleman, who was a descendant from one of the old Kelpius community, suggested that he

take me to an old woman in the neighborhood, who would *besprech* the burn and immediately take out the fire. A fip-penny bit [157] was given me to leave on her table after the incantation was over. Well, the old woman was spare and thin, with very long bony fingers, a pair of brass spectacles perched upon her nose, and red tapes formed a garniture for her drooping eyelids. In fact she was just what a child would picture to itself as a typical witch. Laying the burnt hand on the table, she immediately commenced making signs and crosses over the hurt with her long index finger, while she murmured her incantations—actions which, from the uncanny feeling excited in the lad, temporarily took away the thoughts from the injury. The howl stopped. This was taken as a sign that the charm was successful. The pain, however, soon returned, and the lad, struck with the ridiculous sight, broke out in laughter. This so incensed the old crone that she stated that before she could complete her cure something else was wanting. This something she wrote upon a piece of paper, in German characters, folded it carefully, and put it into the boy's pocket. It was not to be opened until he got home. Brought back to the house, the *zettel* was at once examined. It advised an immediate and thorough dusting of the lad's jacket with a pliable hazel or birch switch, well laid on, so as to teach him in future to respect old age and venerate a gray head. Well, he is glad to say this was not administered, under the circumstances, and when the stage came along the boy was put aboard, with his injured hand tied up between two cakes of fresh smearkase, and, most assuredly, it was far more efficacious than the old crone's incantation. There was one satisfaction about the whole matter, however. In

[157] A Spanish coin equal to 6¼ cents. Prior to the Civil War fips, levies (twelve and one-half cents), and Spanish quarters were in common circulation. Prices of vegetables were usually given in fips and levies by market people.

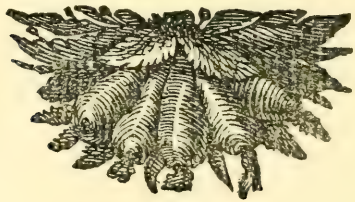
week off, and, upon that day, was converted into a pack of fire-crackers.

However, there are hundreds of persons now living who will bear testimony in favor of the mystic pow-wow as a cure for burns.

The following is a translation of one of these forms. It is taken from an Ephrata manuscript of comparatively modern date, and is evidently a copy of a much older one:

Depart out, Burn, and not inward;
Be you hot or cold, cease your burning.
God protect you, —— —— (Here give the name of patient)
Your blood and your flesh,
Your marrow and bones;
Your veins, be they great or small,
Be preserved, in God's name,
From Brand, both cold and warm.
In the name of God the Father! God the Son! and of the Holy Ghost!

The last line is to be repeated three times. At the close "Amen" is said. The sign of the cross is to be made over the burn or injury at each mention of the deity. Under the expression "cold brand," gangrene or mortification is to be understood.





## CHAPTER XIX.

### FRIEDSAM GOTTRECHT.



ABOUT ten years before the death of Beissel, spiritual manifestations made their appearance within the Kloster Community. Strange as it may appear, these occurrences did not originate within the cloisters of the Solitary at Ephrata, but took their beginning in the far-off valley of Virginia. A few years later similar manifestations took place in the valley of the Codorus. During one of Beissel's visits to the Bermudian and Antietam congregations, he came into personal contact with one of these clairvoyants,[158] as we would now call them. Thus the phenomena were introduced into the Kloster, and naturally found a fertile field among the celibates.

Many were the manifestations at Ephrata during the decade prior to Beissel's death and during the following years. The first and most important of these cases had

[158] Catherine Hummer.

its origin in Virginia in 1761, with a dramatic denoument at the Kloster. A full account of the story was printed during the same year upon the Brotherhood press:

*An Asked-for Relation, or the Appearance of a Disembodied Spirit, written down truly for the information of the public, from the mouth of those who are interested, from the beginning to the end.*[159]

The chief interest in this spiritual manifestation centers around Elizabeth Böhlerin, the wife of Christoph Böhler. The opening scene was in the valley of Virginia, in Frederick county, evidently on the North fork of the Shenandoah,—however, upon this point as to the exact location the writer is not quite clear.

Elizabeth Böhlerin was the third wife of Christoph Böhler, her name prior to her marriage was Elizabeth Henrietha Wilhelmine von Höning, a person of noble birth, who came to Ephrata some time in the year 1760. Böhler's first wife, Catharina Esther, died at Ephrata, in 1741, and left three children. The widower shortly afterwards married the widow of Hans Michael Schüle,[160] living near Germantown, and went to Virginia, where three children were born unto them. In the year 1757 the wife sickened and returned to Ephrata for treatment, where she died at the sister-house, March, 1758, leaving a number of children by her first husband, beside three by Böhler. After the latter entered into his third matromonial venture he returned to Virginia with a part of his family, shortly after which commenced a series of spiritual manifestations.

It was upon the night of Saturday, January 10, 1761, that the first of these occurred, the spirit stating that as Elizabeth was good to her step-children it would tell her where to look for concealed money. This was found as indicated by the spirit. The manifestations continued almost nightly, two spirits appearing, claiming to be those

[159] For fac-simile of title see chapter on Issues of the Kloster Press.

[160] Hans Michael Schüle d. 1737.

of Böhler's first and second wife. They ended by commanding the third wife to go to Ephrata, and at the twelfth hour of the night she should go into the Saal, when a reconciliation between the spirits of the departed would take place as well as between the living children. Careful directions were given by the spirits of both first and second wife as to who should be present. A daughter of each, members of the Sisterhood, were to act as their living representatives.

The little party from Virginia—consisting of Christoph Böhler, his wife and her stepson—arrived at Ephrata on the first day of February. Preparations were at once made for the spectral meeting. This was set for Tuesday, February 3d, to commence at the eleventh hour of the night, corresponding to four o'clock A.M., according to our division of the day.

It was a weird scene which presented itself in the great Saal upon that frosty winter night, illuminated by twenty flickering candles, throwing long and ghostly shadows about the eastern end of the hall, leaving the latticed galleries, ceiling and body of the hall in darkness, while the white woolen habits and sharp pallid features of the seventeen celibates formed a strong contrast to the three Virginians in ordinary clothing. As the clock in the tower struck eleven, Beissel stepped out from the inner sanctuary and opened the ceremony. Only such persons were present as had been designated by the spirits.

First the last chapter of St. James was read, then followed the hymn *Ach Gott und Herr.* All present then formed a circle and fell upon their knees, Beissel then invoked the spirits, during which time a strange emotion took possession of Elizabeth Böhler, and she was seized with great fear, so that her husband and stepson had to support her. When she recovered it was found that her kerchief was sprinkled with thirty drops of fresh blood, no one being able to discover whence it came.

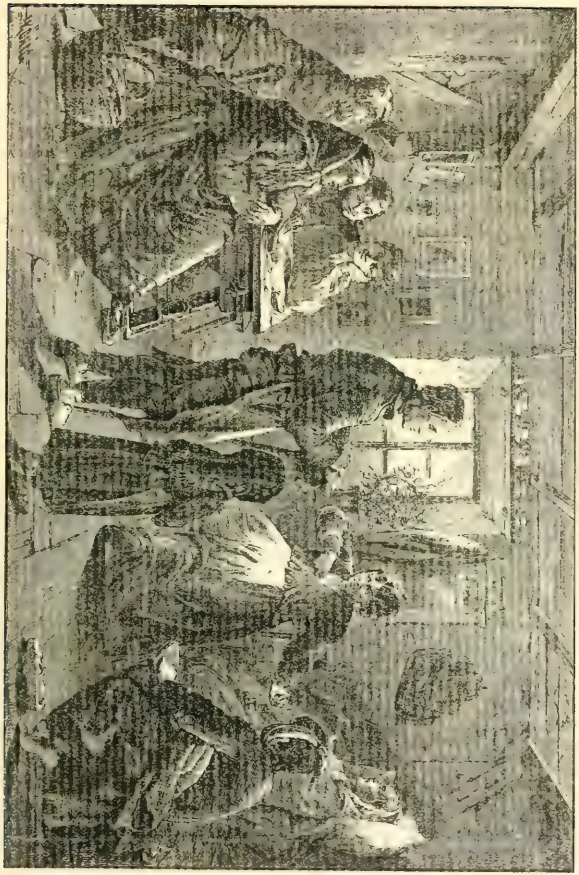
The spirits failed to appear, but in a loud voice directed that two daughters of Böhler, by the first and second wife, members of the Sisterhood, should perform the act of reconciliation instead of their mothers. So a circle was formed, each person holding a lighted candle in one hand, the two Roses of Saron in the center with hands clasped, the third wife standing in front of them and repeating an invocation as directed by the unseen spirit. Then followed another prayer by Beissel, after which the spirits left satisfied and reconciled. A hymn was sung, at the end of which the sharp tone of the convent bell was heard to ring out the first hour of the new day.[161]

Thus ended this curious spiritual manifestation. No one was ever after disturbed by the manes of either the first or second wife of Böhler. One of the strangest parts of this story is that at almost every appearance of these restless spirits they revealed some store of hidden money. The last was during the journey to Ephrata, where the hiding place of quite a sum was indicated; this was duly found and handed over to the Sisterhood of Saron.

The other noteworthy case was that of Catherine Hummer, daughter of a Dunker preacher, who is said to have had visions. The first of these recorded happened upon the night of October 3, 1762; a month later, November 12, 1762, it is stated that her spirit "was taken from this visible creation, and out of her body up into invisible eternity." This was repeated upon December 6th and 13th of the same year.

Similar manifestations continued until the year 1765. Accounts of the wonderful visions spread over the country and brought large numbers of people to the house of the seeress. It was during one of Beissel's visits to the congregations west of the Susquehanna that Catherine Hummer invited him and his celibate companions to visit her, an

[161] 6 A. M.



AN "INSPIRED ONE" IN A STATE OF ECSTACY.

Sketched from nature.

invitation which was accepted. This resulted in a return visit by the seeress and her sister to Ephrata. A full account of these clairvoyant visions is given in the xxxii chapter of the *Chronicon Ephratense;* in closing the diarist says:

Thereupon it came to pass that two of them, namely, the chief person, Catherine [Hummer], and her sister Maria, paid a visit to the Solitary [at Ephrata] at a time when there was a service at the Altar, so that they were initiated into its mystery, which produced great excitement in the whole settlement as well as in the congregation, because the hope was entertained that such respectable lasses would help to make up the church of the 144,000 virgins of the Lamb, so that the new world might the sooner become manifest. These matters at last induced the Superintendent to write an edifying letter to the Instrument, in which he, with his usual modesty, spoke in a very Christian way of this movement, and laid before this person certain signs by which to recognize whether the spirit of Jesus Christ were its impelling force.[162]

The epistle, however, failed to have the effect intended, as shortly afterward Catherine Hummer married, when, according to the *Chronicon*, "the spirit retired into its chambers again and the whole work stopped and fell into decay, which is usually the case with all angelic visions and revelations."

Toward the close of Beissel's earthly career, even several years prior to his death, physical infirmities became manifest. To add to his troubles he became more or less estranged from both solitary orders. This was especially the case with the sisterhood; the breach with Prioress Maria even proved irreconcilable. Some of the brethren accused him of imbibing too freely of the wine cup, a charge which he appears to have successfully disproved. An episode is mentioned in the *Chronicon*, where apparently he was under

[162] Letter in full *Chronicon Ephratense*, chapter xxxiii.

the influence of wine, and they put him under severe discipline; but he went straight home from them, and composed the hymn, *Da einsten hab gemeint, nun wäre ich genessen*, which was soon after printed and distributed in the settlement.

So keenly did Beissel feel this estrangement between him and his fellow Solitary that shortly before his end he said, "I am now again the same that I was when first exposed to the world-spirit, namely an orphan."

However, it matters little what the frailties of Brother Friedsam may have been,—he was but human,—it is well to cast the mantle of charity over his shortcomings at this late day, and bear in mind only his wonderful career as an organizer and religious leader during the early days of our provincial existence. We can but wonder when we stop to ponder over the vast influence exercised by his personality and teachings, not only over the minds of the humble and uneducated, but over some who were far superior to him in both learning and strength of character, prominent examples of the latter being men like Peter Miller and Conrad Weiser.

It has already been told, how from an ignorant journeyman baker he became a power in the land among the spiritually stranded Germans in the Province, exercising by means of his sermons, epistles, hymns, music and writings, an influence second to no religious leader of his time, and which in a confined sense still lingers in several counties of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Virginia among the German Sabbatarian communities, all of which are an outcome of the movement started in the humble cabin on the Mill creek and expanded into the Mystic settlement on the Cocalico, known in history as "Ephrata."

There are two accounts of Beissel's death. First, that of the *Chronicon* written by Prior Jaebez his successor in office. The other was recorded by the disgruntled Sang-

meister (Bro. Ezekiel), who it appears could not overcome his enmity for fancied grievances, even at the death of Beissel, nor would he attend the funeral.

The actual death of Beissel was a somewhat sore disappointment to a number of his most intimate followers and supporters, who had the idea firmly impressed upon their minds that the great Magus on the Cocalico would, at the end of his earthly career, be spared the pains of a bodily dissolution and be translated into the realms of bliss just as Enoch and Elias of old.

Beissel himself appears to have lived in the firm persuasion of such an event. But, like his predecessor on the Wissahickon, Magister Johannes Kelpius, he was destined to make his exit in no wise different from an ordinary mortal.

Conrad Beissel for some years previous to his end suffered from a complication of diseases, chiefly a consumptive cough, aggravated by constipation, eventually resulting in an obstruction of the bowels and internal mortification (*kalter Brand*). At the beginning of July, 1768, his ailments became so aggravated that he suffered great pain, and was forced to exclaim that he was now "nailed to the cross," yet he refused to acknowledge any physical sickness, but would fain say that his sufferings were mere "spiritual throes preceding his new birth."

Notwithstanding his bodily infirmity Beissel attended to his official business up to within eight days before his end, when he officiated for the last time at a love-feast. Feeling that his earthly career was drawing toward a close, he consecrated Prior Jaebez (Rev. Peter Miller), Brothers Philemon (Johann Conrad Reissman) and Eleazer (Jacob Eicher), to the priesthood from among whom his successor in office should be selected. While thus suffering, word was sent him,—it was just three days before his own death,—that one of the oldest housemothers, Barbara Höfly, was breath-

ing her last and asked for a visit, even though he were not able to speak with her, if only she might be permitted to see him. The *Chronicon* says, "although he was at the time already wrestling with death he took a brother along and fulfilled her wish."

Again referring to the *Chronicon*, " At last, Wednesday, the 6th day of July of the year 1768 came, when he laid aside his mortal raiment." Upon that morning he rallied and attended prayers at the Saal of the sisterhood, and vainly sought a reconciliation with the Prioress Maria. Returning to his cabin he had no impression of his hastening end within two hours of the final moment when his spirit should take its flight.

As he was seen to go to and from the sister-house in the morning, nobody, therefore, thought that his departure was so near, nor could the powers of darkness prevail upon him to lie down on a sick bed. Agrippa tells us that " meanwhile a constant watch was kept, for strange happenings were expected, and that the powers of death would have a fierce struggle with him, especially since he was an old soldier, who was accustomed neither to call on men for mercy, nor to yield to the powers of darkness."

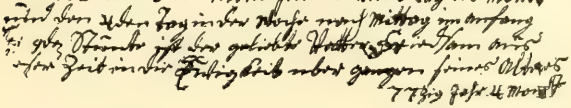
When it became known that the final moment was approaching, the news quickly spread among solitary and householders—all of the former who could enter crowded into the little cabin to witness the final *denouement.* The scene was a unique and picturesque one : outside the cabin all was bright sunshine and life, with birds merrily chirping as they fluttered from twig to limb ; inside the little cabin with its scant furnishings all was still as death. There sat upon his wooden pallet the late ruler of the settlement, gaunt and emaciated, his features drawn and eyes sunken, his dress the ordinary linen habit of the celibates. Around him were clustered the Brethren of Bethania in their strange garb. Back of the men were ranged the sisters in their cowled

habit, those of short stature utilizing a bench to stand on. All was silence and expectation. If prayers were uttered they were silent ones. The patient gradually became weaker under the influence of the heat and the stifling atmosphere of the small cabin; at last he broke the silence and asked the brethren to bless him and receive his memory into their fellowship. Prior Jaebez then anointed him with the holy oil, and as he spread the sacred chrism upon his forehead he gave him his blessing with the laying on of hands, after which all brethren present, in turn, gave the dying mystic the kiss of peace to take along on his journey.

After this ceremony was over he was persuaded to lie down on his pallet, resting his head upon the wooden pillow block which had served him for so many years. While lying upon his unyielding couch he was heard to exclaim: *O wehe! O wehe! O wunder! O wunder!* (O woe! O woe! O wonder! O wonder!) With that his speech failed him, and soon after his spirit winged its flight without any susceptible motion of the body. The time according to our reckoning was between one and two o'clock in the afternoon.

Thus died Conrad Beissel, the founder of the German Sabbatarians in America. Agrippa tells us that during the solemn scene just described, "nobody was seen to shed tears, but all thanked God most fervently that after so long a martyrdom he had delivered His servant from the body of this death." There was, however, a single exception. This was Brother Ezekiel, who as soon as he saw that Beissel's end was near, fell upon his knees and prayed fervently for the repose of the soul of the departed.

Immediately after the dissolution of Beissel, messengers were sent out far and near to give notice of the death of the *Vorsteher.* For this purpose slips were quickly written by the sisters to be left by the messengers at the different houses; one of these notices is in the collection of the writer and is here reproduced in fac-simile.



Another duty of these messengers, or *Einlader*, was to invite the people to the funeral, which on account of the heat of the weather was set for the afternoon of the 8th of July.

While the brethren prepared the body for burial, the sisterhood assumed the vigil until the time for interment, and five sisters constantly kept watch over the lifeless body and recited prayers for the dead.

On the afternoon of Friday, July 8, 1768, funeral services were held in the great Saal of the Brethren in which Beissel had so often preached and presided. The chief sermon was delivered by Prior Jaebez upon the text, Hebrews xiii: 7 and 17.

Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.

Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief: for that is unprofitable for you.

After the sermon Prior Jaebez gave a brief biographical sketch of the deceased, in which he stated that Beissel had composed fully one thousand pieces of music and printed 441 hymns, in which, said the reverend speaker, one may see his enlightened nature, as many of them are prophetic, representing the near approach of the Sabbatic church and the gathering together of the people of God.

Prior Jaebez was followed with addresses by Brothers Philemon and Obed. Special hymns were also sung. When the services in the Saal were over the coffin was

carried to the new graveyard, followed by an immense throng of people. Prior to being lowered into its final resting place, the lid was again raised, so that according to the Rosicrucian ritual the sun should once more shine upon the body, after which it was closed and lowered into its dark cell, there to repose until the trumpet of the angel shall summon it to come forth and receive its final reward.

The flat tombstone covering the body bears the following inscription:

*Hier ruhet eine Ausge | burt der Liebe Gottes | FRIEDSAM | Ein Einsamer, Nachmals | aber geworden ein An | führer, Aufseher Lehrer | der Einsamen u. Gemeine | Christi in u. um Ephrata. | Gebohren in Eberbach in | der Pfaltz, genannt Conrad | Beissel: Entschlief den 6ten | Julius A.O. 1768 seines | geistlichen Lebens 52; aber | des Natürlichen 77 Jahr 4 | Monat.*

[Translation.—Here rests an offspring of the Love of God, FRIEDSAM a Solitary, but later become a Leader, Guardian, Teacher of the Solitary and of the Congregation of Christ in and about Ephrata. Born at Eberbach in the Palatinate, called Conrad Beissel: Fell asleep July 6th, Anno 1768, aged according to his spiritual life 52, but according to his natural one 77 years and 4 months].

The demise of the *Vorsteher* entailed considerable labor upon the superstitious Germans within and without the Kloster. Among the customs of the day to be attended to was the notification of every hive of bees, not alone within the Kloster grounds, but within a considerable limit outside; it was believed that the bees would swarm if this were neglected. Then again every barrel, keg or crock of wine, vinegar, pickles, sauer-kraut and preserved fruits had to be turned upon the shelf or skid to prevent them from spoiling.[162]

[162] This custom still prevails in Lancaster and other counties; whenever a death occurs in a house every jar of preserves and canned fruit must at once be turned or all will spoil.

Upon the day of Beissel's funeral the usual customs, such as sweeping the floor, pouring a bucket of water over the door-sill and the chalking of three crosses upon the door-jamb were strictly complied with. At the final closing of Beissel's coffin the body was slightly turned on the right side, being kept in place by a piece of sod; this was done so that when the body turned in the grave it would be toward the right, thus ensuring absolute rest in the grave.

By a strange coincidence Sister Catharina Knodel died upon the same day as the *Vorsteher* (July 6th); this sister had but lately joined the Community. The death of this sister and that of Barbara Höfly, gave rise to the firm belief among the Solitary that this was so ordained, that their spirits might accompany, attend and minister to that of the *Vorsteher* in its flight to eternity when it cast aside its mortal raiment.

Beissel during his life frequently said that he would return to the Community in spirit after his departure from this world. This was firmly believed in by all of the inmates as well as the superstitiously inclined settlers of the Conestoga valley. In this they were not disappointed, as the spiritual manifestations began two days after his burial, when he appeared to Brother Luther and his sister Catharina in their respective chambers. Upon the night of June 28th he appeared to Ezekiel, to whom the spirit evidently gave an earnest admonition. Later on his appearance before different members of the Kloster became of nightly occurrence. He even appeared in spirit to Jephune while living at Germantown. Further, Sangmeister gives numerous other instances of spiritual manifestations in which that of Beissel forms the chief figure.

As to Beissel's career in the Province, it is a part of the history of the German feature of our great State. With all of his many failings and shortcomings, we cannot but say that the Ephrata movement exerted a benign influence during

the early days of Pennsylvania's history, in times when there was yet a lack of regular German clergymen. How his doctrine of the Sabbath spread over the eastern part of the Province and into adjoining colonies has been fully shown in these pages.

The Sabbatarian movement on the Conestoga and that of the Germantown Dunkers on the Wissahickon certainly proved a bulwark against the Quaker rationalism during one of the darkest periods of religious apathy in the German portions of Penn's Province. Both of these movements arose just at the crucial period when the German settlers, especially the growing generation, were threatened to be engulfed with the rationalism of the Quaker or a total lapse into unbelief, owing to the absence of any regular accredited ministers from the Fatherland who could instruct the youth in the faith of their fathers, and gather the elders once again within the folds which owed fealty to either the Augsburg or Heidelberg Confession.

A peculiar feature of Beissel's character was that at some time or another, he had differences with almost every person with whom he came into close contact—differences which were often marked with acrimonious discussion upon both sides. Prominent among the persons outside of the Community, with whom he had differences, were: Conrad Matthäi, Peter Becker, Christoph Sauer and Conrad Weiser.

To Beissel's credit, however, who always signed himself *Friedsam*, or a lover of peace, it must be said that no matter how bitter the quarrel, or serious the estrangement, he appears to have been ever ready to extend the olive branch, when there was any sign of its acceptance.

Accounts of his reconciliation with all of the above-named parties are to be found in various records. The differences with old father Matthäi were evidently but slight and easily healed. The circumstances surrounding this interesting meeting are as follows: Early in the sum-

mer of 1747, William Jung, who was the Philadelphia representative of the Ephrata Community, requested that a general love-feast be held at his house in the city. This was announced to be held on June 2, 1747. For this purpose Beissel went to the city with twelve solitary brethren and sisters. The whole distance from Ephrata to Philadelphia, by way of Germantown, was covered on foot. The sufferings of the sisters during this journey were almost indescribable, as Beissel refused to permit them to drink any water on the way, merely because William Jung had written him to take care that the sisters did not suffer any injury from drinking too much water on the journey. This William Jung appears to have had a strange influence over Beissel, with the chief object in view of enriching himself at the expense of the celibates. The love-feast and breaking of bread was a large and successful affair, but at the close it was found that Jung had kept it at the cost of the Community, for not only had all of the flour, butter and what else belonged to it been sent from the settlement, but all the necessary tinware, window-curtains, tables, etc., were also bought on account of the Community, and amounted to a large sum of money, since the tables, according to the *Chronicon*, alone cost ten pounds sterling.

It was upon his return to Ephrata, after this love-feast, that Beissel made the detour to visit old Conrad Matthäi, who was then living upon the high table land overlooking the Wissahickon and known as the "Ridge." The *Chronicon* tells us that when "Beissel and Matthäi embraced each other, a difference which had existed between their spirits was removed. They had formerly been good friends; but after Beissel had permitted himself to be instrumental in this new awakening in Conestoga, a separation of their spirits took place, which was healed again by this visit, as just mentioned."

The estrangement with Elder Peter Becker was a far

more serious one, it also dated from the time when Beissel assumed leadership in the Conestoga valley and formulated the doctrine of keeping the seventh day holy. This act of Beissel, in 1728, brought on a separation between the two leaders which lasted until some years prior to the death of Elder Becker. It was some time during the year 1754 that Beissel, learning of the physical infirmities of the Elder, wrote a theosophical epistle to his former master and associate. It was dated the 12th of the 2d mo., 1755, and is headed with the salutation, "I salute and kiss you in the love of Jesus, and in the blood of the New Covenant."

The letter,[163] which is not a long one, teems with true love, pity and friendship. In bringing it to a close, Beissel writes:

As presumably your course in this tumultuous world is soon finished, so I thank my God from my whole heart, who has showered upon us so many blessings, that I can once again write a letter to you.—Should it prove the final one, and that we should never meet again, and that it is ordained that I should be the remaining one,—I wish you a blessed voyage, so that in the beyond you may reap a joyful harvest, before the day of the revelation and manifestation of God, for your great troubles and sorrows here upon earth.

I again salute and kiss you heartily in the spirit of the purest love of Jesus, to which and the holy *Pleura*[164] I so truly recommend you. For in the same we are both sanctified by his blood shed upon the cross.

His spirit in which the right life and the picture of immortality is again portrayed, may it reign in you and all of us in spirit always and in eternity. Amen.

He signs himself *Friedsam*, "a nonenity upon this earth."

It is not known what the reply was. That it was one in

[163] Letter in Beissel's so called letter-book, folios 126–129, in possession of the writer.

[164] *Wunden-Höhle*, the wound in the side of Christ.

the same spirit is shown by the fact that during the same year Beissel visited the old elder, the former master and associate of Conrad Beissel. At this meeting old differences were adjusted and the reconciliation of the two great religious leaders of the German Baptist movement in America was complete.

Some time after this visit, Beissel, under date of the 20th of the 3rd month, 1756, sent from Ephrata another theosophical epistle addressed to Elder Becker, with the following salutation:

"In suffering patient—in loving innocent—in misery consumed—confirms the soul in God."

A short introduction was prefixed to this epistle; a fragment of this was lately translated and published as a *vindication of Peter Becker in the writing of Beissel himself.* Now, as a matter of fact, there is not a single word of apology by Beissel in either the introduction or the epistle itself; nor was it intended to be any letter of vindication of anyone. If anything, it is a justification of Beissel's course, wherein he sets forth at length his position and teachings. In the published account of Becker's vindication! when the *soi-disant* chronicler comes to the crucial part, he stops short and says: "here this letter is cut short by the removal of a leaf of the book,"—removed by whom he fails to say. Now, as a matter of fact, there are just ten closely written pages which have either been suppressed or are missing to the copy quoted. Fortunately, in the interest of historical accuracy and truth, the complete epistle is in the collection of the writer.

The curious signature to this epistle reads: "*Conrad Beissel*, one who possesses O upon this earth."

From the *Chronicon* it appears that at least another visit was made by Beissel to the old patriarch shortly before his death. He was then living with his married daughter, Mary Harley, upon their farm in the Skippack valley. The

record states that at this visit Beissel said to Becker: "what a pity it is that there were no wise men among you when the awakening in Conestoga commenced; how we could now live under your shelter!" Whereupon the dying elder wept.[165]

Peter Becker died March 19, 1758, and was buried in the old graveyard near by; a simple sandstone boulder marked his last resting place; it bore the legend in rough characters, ANO 1758 P. B.

We now come to the case of Beissel *vs.* Sauer. How the estrangement of these two leaders began has already been fully told in our chapter on the *Weyrauchs Hügel.* That Christopher Sauer had a further grievance against the Magus on the Cocalico, on account of the desertion of his wife, whether well founded or not, and her subsequent entry into the Kloster, is not to be denied, all of which has been fully told in our first volume.

In Beissel's so-called letter-book, in the possession of the writer, there are copies of three letters written to the elder Sauer—the two earliest are not dated, but as they make mention of Sauer's wife, Maria Christiana, who then had rejoined her spouse, they were written prior to December, 1752, when she died. These letters give us no insight into the domestic concerns of either of the parties, but are full of references to the sinful Adam and celestial and terrestrial magia, etc. In conclusion Beissel writes: The love of God is like unto an ocean, which no one can exhaust. Be you, therefore, together with the dear sister Maria Christiana, again kissed and beloved. I am and remain, who I am, etc., *Friedsam*, a stranger and pilgrim upon this world."

The third letter, one of somewhat different import, is dated Ephrata, 5th of the 4th month, 1755. In it Beissel regrets that any differences should arise between them, and

[165] *Chronicon Ephratense* translation, p. 28.

refers to some matter in which Simeon König appears as principal. Beissel also regrets that Sauer's condition will not permit another visit to Ephrata, and states that he will come to him at the first opportunity. From this it is inferred that visits between these two leaders were not infrequent at that time. Christopher Sauer passed from time into eternity September 25, 1758, in the 64th year of his age.

Of Beissel's differences and reconciliation with Conrad Weiser we have already spoken in a previous chapter. Thus it will be seen that no matter how great the enmity, Conrad Beissel earnestly sought to maintain his Kloster name as *Friedsam*, a lover of peace.

The so-called letter-book of Conrad Beissel, quoted in our text, and upon which a late writer has laid considerable stress, and with a great flourish informs us that "when it is published the world will know what is now unknown, and what is now falsely accepted, with reference to this strange mystic spirit of the colonial wilds of Pennsylvania." Now, as a matter of fact, the book is simply a collection of theosophical epistles, sent by Beissel to the persons named during the years 1755 and 1756. To these were added a number of like effusions, which are not included in the published volume. By referring to the appended list it would appear that it took Beissel fully a month to compose one of these theosophical letters. Then, again, if the above enthusiastic writer could but read the German script of his "priceless treasure, obtained in so miraculous a manner," he would soon become aware of the fact that not a single word of historical information is to be found in the whole collection of theosophical speculations.

To students of Ephrata history these epistles are not unknown,[166] as several copies were made at Ephrata and

[166] *Vide* Seidensticker.

Antietam, a complete one being in the possession of the writer. The contents are as follows:

Brother Ludovici, Ephrata, 20–1mo., 1755.
Peter Becker, Ephrata, 12–2mo., 1755.
Unknown, Ephrata, 1–3mo., 1755.
Christopher Sauer, Ephrata, 5–4mo., 1755.
Peter Beussel, Ephrata, 24–5mo., 1755.
Jacob Mohr, Sen., Amwell, Ephrata, 12–8mo., 1755.
Brother Ludovici, Ephrata, 12–9mo., 1755.
Brother Ludovici, Ephrata, 22–11mo., 1755.
Heinrich Lohman, Ephrata, 9–2mo., 1756.
Peter Becker, Ephrata, 20–3mo., 1756.
Brother Ludovici, Ephrata, 7–5mo., 1756.
Johannes Müller, Ephrata, 17–5mo., 1756.

Scattered among the above are the following epistles, all undated except where noted:

Unaddressed, Ephrata, 11–5mo., 1751.
Christopher Sauer, no date (but written prior to December, 1752).
Daniel, an English schoolmaster in Lancaster.
A friend in Heidelberg.
Baker Prior in Heidelberg.
Brother Agabus.
Wilhelmus Jung in Philadelphia, five epistles.
Conrad Matthäi (written prior to 1748).
Brother Gewiss (*sic*) in Manheim.
Brother Gewiss, by Prioress Maria.
George Hoenning in Guntesblumm[167] (written about 1760).
Henrich Funk.
Gerhard Zinn.
To a greatly beloved but unknown friend and brother.
Christian Silberborg (two epistles).
Jacob Kimmel.
Heinrich Lohman.
Unknown (one).

[167] A brother of Elizabeth Henrietha Wilhelmine von Höning before mentioned.

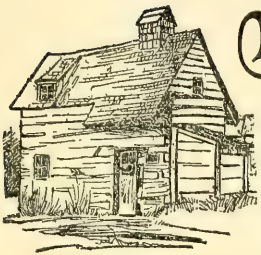


GROUP OF PENNSYLVANIA SECTARIANS.



## CHAPTER XX.

### PRIOR JAEBEZ.



JAEBEZ' CABIN.

UPON the evening of April 8th, of the year of grace 1768, a number of Philadelphia's prominent citizens might have been seen wending their way on Chestnut street westward from Front street. They came singly and in pairs, a few in chairs and others again on foot preceded by a servant carrying a lighted lantern. Their objective point was the State House.

A large bracket lantern, with four lighted candles upon each side of the door, gave notice that the coming of persons of quality was expected. As these citizens entered the door they passed through the east chamber, now known as Independence Hall, and at the southeast corner entered into a smaller building, which then adjoined the main structure eastward. This wing, if it may be so called, consisted of a single room of fair proportions, and was the library of the Assembly,[168] or "Assembly's Library." This

[168] Evidences of this building are still to be seen upon the east wall of the State House.

room was the most elegant in the building, the ceiling was of ornamental stucco, as were also the carved chimney-places. Around the room were glass cases filled with tomes of English law, as well as books of history and poetry. Upon one of the mantelpieces was a fine bust of Thomas Penn, a present to the Assembly by Lady Juliana Penn.[169]

In the center of the room was a long table covered with green cloth, upon which stood several silver candlesticks. Around the table were ranged a number of high-backed chairs, which the above-mentioned citizens proceeded to occupy as they entered the room.

As the great bell in the tower struck eight, those present were called to order by one of their number. The roll was then called, when it was found that the following persons were present:

George Roberts, *President*,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| David Evans, | John Morris, | Dr. Morgan, |
| Joseph Paschall, | Samuel Powel, | Richard Wells, |
| Charles Thomson, | Owen Biddle, | Thomas Mifflin. |

This gathering was neither more nor less than a regular stated meeting of "The American Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge," one of the oldest and most exclusive scientific societies in America,[170] governed by rules similar to the Royal Society of England.

Upon the April night in question, George Roberts, Esq., presided. Being election night the roll of proposed candidates was called, and the sponsors of each were asked what the candidate had done in the way of promoting useful knowledge that would entitle him to membership in the organization.

Among the names called was Rev. Peter Miller of Ephrata. It is said that Charles Thomson was his sponsor,

[169] *Pennsylvania Magazine*, vol. xxiii, p. 418.

[170] A year later a union was perfected with the American Philosophical Society, the united body taking a part of the title of each organization.

seconded by Dr. John Morgan and Owen Biddle. The former set forth in a masterly manner the claims, learning and virtues of the humble Ephrata recluse, who had not the faintest idea of the great honor about to be bestowed upon him. When the final ballot was taken it was found that our German mystic was elected without a dissenting vote.[171]

That Peter Miller accepted membership in the American Society is shown by the following minutes; the paper which was read is unfortunately missing:

At a meeting of the Society, September 9, 1768, Charles Thomson read to the company two letters: one from William Henry, of Lancaster, giving an account of the manner of cultivating the sunflower and preparing an oil from their seed which may be applied to most of the purposes for which olive oil is used; the other from Peter Miller, of Ephrata, containing some observations upon the fly which is so destructive to the grain of this and the neighboring provinces, ending with some experiments he had made for raising of peas and lentils. Peter Miller also informs the company that he has an auger of a new construction for boring into the earth, which he will present to them, and they agree to accept the same. Charles Thomson is desired to return him their thanks.

The implement referred to was a screw auger, the invention of which is usually claimed for a mechanic in the Chester valley about the year 1774–76. The above minute shows to whom is due the priority for this useful invention.

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[171] Following is the list of members chosen at that time:

RESIDENT MEMBERS:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Abel James, | Francis Hopkinson, | Thomas Fisher, |
| Rev. Jacob Duché, | Michael Hillegas, | Lewis Nicola, |
| Dr. Charles Moore, | Stephen Watts, | George Morgan, |
| John Foxcroft, | William White (afterwards Bishop of Penna.). | |

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Edward Antill, | Benjamin Jacobs, | John Okely, |
| Peter Miller, | James Webb, | James Wright. |
| Humphrey Marshall, | Frederick Post, | |

Viro honorando Eduardo Shippen

Salutem.

Portator harum Literarum, quocum multis retro Annis arcta Necessitate fui conjunctus, a Te, Vir honorande, desiderat, ut Literas ejus in Patriam mittendas, tua subscriptione nec non Comitatus Sigillo velis corroborare. Quod hisce illum ad Te introducam, Causa est immerita tua erga Exiguitatem meam Benevolentia, de qua sæpius Experimentum feci. Non me latet, esse apud Vos nonnullos, qui Literis gratia talia Instrumenta solent carpere, eo quod non sint exarata a quodam Jurisperito: verum nullus ego dubito, quin faciens fis, quod æquum et fas est. Mihi contra nil magis erit Cordi quam qualibet data Occasione demonstrare, quod Sim, Vir honorande,

Tui

addictus Servus
Petr Miller

Babam Ephrata
decimo nono Aprilis
M D CC LXXIV.

LATIN LETTER BY PETER MILLER TO HON. EDWARD SHIPPEN.

Original in collection of L. B. Walker, Esq.

After the union of the two learned societies of Philadelphia, Prior Jaebez became a full member of the united organization, whose roll of membership includes many of America's brainiest and greatest men.[172]

The early history of John Peter Miller, his arrival in this country, ordination, ministerial acts and entry into the Ephrata Community have all been fully recounted in our former volume.[173]

In addition to the study of theology in Europe, the young student took a course in jurisprudence, and when he came to Pennsylvania brought with him quite a number of books of legal lore. These tomes, together with a few theological and scientific works, escaped the general *auto-da-fe* held at the house of Godfrey Fiedler,[174] and when Frater Enoch (Conrad Weiser) was elevated to the justiceship they stood in good stead, as Prior Jaebez was his mentor and schooled him in the intricacies of the law, at least as it was taught in the Fatherland. Several cases are upon record where Jaebez the Ephrata recluse successfully argued his case in open court, not the least important of which was the case when the title of the Kloster was brought into question by Samuel Eckerlin.

As to the actual title of the Kloster land, we have already recited the patents to Meyle and Eckerlin, yet back of this was a prior title direct from the Penns. This is mentioned in a letter from Peter Miller to Lady Juliana Penn:

To the Honorable Lady Julianna Penn: Grace and peace from God the Father and his Son Jesus Christ through the influence of the Holy Ghost.

Both the extract of your Ladyship's letter to the Rev. Mr.

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[172] Some fifteen years ago the writer was told that Peter Miller's patent of membership was still in existence. A careful and persistent search, however, failed to find any trace of the parchment.

[173] *German Sectarians*, vol. i, p. 228 *et seq.*

[174] *Cf.* vol. i, p. 244.

B.,[175] and also the letter to the Sisters, were faithfully transmitted by the said gentleman. That your Ladyship hath honored the Sisters with your handwriting, convinced me that you are a patroness of that life which is so much against the modern taste; and herein the idea I have of your Ladyship's merits hath farther confirmed me.

The Sisters are a venerable society, founded forty years ago, and have ever since not only been an honor to your sex, but also an ornament to this province, and as I have the honor to be their President it was incumbent on me to answer in their name.

Your Ladyship was well informed that they are enemies to all superfluities; and I may further say, that they are very scrupulous even in things necessary to support this life. I will not mention here what moved them to this rigorous life, neither what cause they had to consecrate themselves to perpetual virginity, for your Ladyship is better acquainted with this way than to stand in need of any human information. It is now near half a century elapsed, since in your province the powers of eternity exerted themselves with such a vehemency, that the foundations of all denominations began to shake; also that every one thought the Kingdom of God was nigh at hand. At that time amongst others have enlisted under the banners of Christ many young persons of both sexes, which after they by water baptism had publicly quitted all claims to their natural prerogatives, settled here and there as hermits, in the great wilderness of Conestogues, after the manner of the fathers of the third and following centuries; and it was then a common thing to see persons of your sex to follow in those deserts the strictest discipline. About the year 1734 the town of Ephrata was founded as a rendezvous for all solitary persons which have dedicated themselves to perpetual virginity, and have hitherto lived scattered in the wilderness; in which town one corner was allotted to the Sisters, and accordingly two deputies were sent to the Hon. T. P.,[176] your worthy

[175] Rev. Thomas Barton, of Lancaster.

[176] Governor Thomas Penn.

consort, to Philadelphia, to ask permission to lay out said town on a barren piece of his land. (For they have been there scrupulous to take out patent), which he not only granted, but also promised his protection, although they were afterwards compelled by necessity to take a patent.

This is the origin of a small republic, which sprung up in the heart of North America, and whose fame in a short time penetrated not only through the British provinces, but also through all Protestant kingdoms of Europe. It arose from the dust with incredible celerity, and such strict discipline, that never a potentate had soldiers which understood their corporal maneuvers better than those members understood their spiritual one; for besides their hard labor, they maintained fasting and watching in such a degree that they justly might be put in the scale with the said fathers in the wilderness; for which cause not only all the governors of this and sundry of the adjacent provinces, but also many other gentlemen, had the curiosity to see the new Commonwealth.

It is remarkable that after it came to its meridian it began to decline, which was occasioned by deaths and desertion, partly by intestine broils; a proof that no church whatever can here be of perpetual lustre. Should I enumerate to your Ladyship all the battles, skirmishes and temptations we had during that long course, it would swell up this letter to a large volume, for we had against us not only the powers and principles of darkness, but also all carnal men, with whom did sympathize our own flesh. Six years ago departed this life our worthy President, who hath founded the order, and then the generality did conceive new hope, that our fatal period was nigh at hand; but the hand of God did strengthen us that we closed our ranks anew, and by his gracious interposition the expectation of our adversaries is again frustrated. The number of Sisters at present is twenty-six.

I am persuaded that many of the British dominions have favored our institution, being well adapted to raise the spirit of ancient Christianity, and I humbly think that your Ladyship is among that number. I have the assurance that none of them shall fall short of their expectation; since for the

sake of the honor of God, and the common edification, this institution is erected. Not by any man's selfwill, but immediately by the hand of God, although he employed proper means to do it.

Perhaps I have ventured too much upon your Ladyship's patience, and will therefore conclude with humble supplications to the throne of Grace, that God would take the whole Honorable family, and particularly your worthy consort and your Ladyship's person, under his peculiar protection, and save them from all evil, in which I subscribe myself your Ladyship's obedient servant, P[ETER] M[ILLER.]

P. S.—When I did communicate this letter to the Sisters, their two matrons, together with the whole society, desires me to send their humble respects to their patrons.

Prior Jaebez was a valued correspondent and friend of the Penn family, and on several occasions both the Proprietors, as well as Lady Juliana Penn, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret and wife of Hon. Thomas Penn, visited him at the Kloster.

The following letter from Lady Penn has been preserved:

Septr. 29th, 1774.

SIR,

Your very respectable character would make me ashamed to address you with words merely of form. I hope therefore you will not suspect me of using any such, when I assure you I received the favour of your letter with great pleasure. And permit me, sir, to join the thanks I owe to those worthy women, the holy sisters at Ephrata, with those I now present to you, for the good opinion you, and they, are pleased to have of me. I claim only that of respecting merit, where I find it; and of wishing an increase in the world, of that piety to the Almighty, and peace to our fellow-creatures, that I am convinced is in your hearts: and, therefore, do me the justice to believe, you have my wishes of prosperity here, and happiness hereafter.

I did not receive the precious stone, you were so good to send me, till yesterday. I am most extremely obliged to you

for it. It deserves to be particularly distinguished on its own, as well as the giver's account. I shall keep it with a grateful remembrance of my obligations to you.

Mr. Penn, as well as myself, were much obliged to you for remarking to us, that the paper you wrote on, was the manufacture of Ephrata: It had, on that account, great merit to us; and he has desired our friend, Mr. Barton, to send him some specimens of the occupation of some of your society. He bids me say, that he rejoices to hear of your and their welfare.

It is I that should beg pardon for interrupting your quiet, and profitable moments, by an intercourse so little beneficial as mine; but trust your benevolence will indulge this satisfaction to one who wishes to assure, sir, that she is, with sincere regard, your obliged and faithful well-wisher,

JULIANA PENN.

When the Juliana Library Company was organized at Lancaster in 1759, Prior Jaebez made quite a donation of books, among which were many of value and interest. Ten years later, shortly after the death of Beissel and his own elevation as chief ruler of the Community, he made a further donation to the library, among which were the following folios:

68. Corpus Juris Civilis, Quo Jus Universum Justinianum comprehenditum. Cum Notis repititæ quintum Prælectionis Dionysii Gothofredii.

69. Codicis Justiniani D. N. Sacratissimi Principis P. P. Augusti Repititæ Prælectionis Liber 12. Notis &c.

70. Ludovici Cælii Rhodigini Lectionum Antiquarum &c.

71. Johannis Wallis S. T. D. &c. Opera Mathematica.

72. Commentaries on the Four Evangelists by Benedictus Aritius (Latin).

(All given by Rev. Peter Miller of Ephrata.)

This list is taken from the original MSS. catalogue in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.[177]

[177] Miscellaneous Papers, 1724–1772, Lancaster county.

That the intercourse between the Penn family and the Ephrata Community was an intimate one and that the institution on the Cocalico was held in high esteem by the Proprietors is further instanced by the fact that Governor Penn and retinue frequently visited their meetings. He was so much pleased with their doctrines that he sent for Peter Miller and several brethren and informed them that he had made a grant to the Society of five thousand acres of land on the Cocalico creek which he had called the *Seventh-Day Baptist Manor*.[178] This grant was declined with thanks "because it was against their religious principles to be possessed of such a large portion of worldly estate."

This is probably the only instance of its kind upon record. The Hon. J. K. Chandler, in his oration before the Historical Society upon the occasion of the presentation of the Ephrata press, alluding to the above incident, said,—

"Their lofty independence, which was exhibited in the form of Christian humility, led them to avoid accessions by gift that involved the risk of pride of possessions."

There are traditions that Jaebez, after his baptism by Beissel and entry into the Kloster, ministered occasionally to the Reformed congregations in the vicinity, which appears to be confirmed by the ministerial roster of Bethany church. It is undoubtedly true that he at times ministered to those of his old faith, but that this was not done regularly and against his convictions is shown by a letter to Peter Lehman, August 26, 1788,[179] wherein he gives a short sketch of his life:

"Shortly after my baptism, Beissel urged me to again take service in the Mother Church, with the remembrance

[178] *Seventh-Day Baptist Magazine*, August, 1822. *Sabbath Recorder*, April 16, 1846. Fahnestock MSS.

[179] Letter in possession of the writer.

that now by baptism I had received the power lacking for the office."

"True it is," continues Jaebez, "that many of the Reformed still clung to me. Neither was I entirely divorced from this contagion. But God, who at all times has so truly cared for me, put it into my mind to tell the *Vorsteher* that I would never permit myself to be again used as a teacher, which for me proved a great blessing, as after I had left the sacerdotal chair at Tulpehocken, the others who sat upon it were miserably cast out.[180]

While upon the subject of the title of the Kloster ground, it will be well to notice some of the litigation in reference to it, and in which prior Jaebez was a leading actor. This commenced some years before the death of Beissel and continued until the so-called tripartite deed in 1770.

Early in the present century, incident to the incorporation of the new Society, a paper was published by the remaining celibates who opposed the scheme, entitled:

A TRUE STATEMENT OF MATTERS IN FACT CONCERNING OUR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES OF EPHRATA.

In the year 1737, John Miley took out a Patent for a Tract of Land containing 180 Acres.

And in the year 1739 he sold the same Tract of 180 acres to Samuel Eckerling, Jacob Gass, Israel Eckerling & Emanuel Eckerling for 27 pounds, 18 shillings.

But in the year 1762, when Samuel Eckerling & his Brethren were absent, he, the same said John Miley, went and sold 80 acres thereof to one (called here) Father Friedsam (but otherwise Conrad Beissel) for the sum of 27 pounds. And thus conveyed the said 80 acres Tract (whereon Ephrata is built) a second time, without a reconveyance.[181]

[180] Michael Wohlfarth, Emanuel Eckerlin and Conrad Weiser are evidently here alluded to. *Cf.* vol. i, p. 248.

[181] This agreement, or indenture, dated September 7, 1762, was made between John Maiyle, or Maybe, of the town of Ephrata, widower, of the

There were now of course 2 Deeds or Titles heref or Ephrata, by One person's twice selling the same Tract.

But in the year 1764, when Samuel Eckerling appeared in Ephrata, Matters were brought before the Assembly in Philadelphia, and in the year 1765, both parties, viz., Peter Miller & Samuel Eckering appeared there; but since 3 out of 5 of the first Purchasers, had at that time been dead, and Peter Miller, who having had his Name eradicated out of the above mentioned Deed! It thus appeared of course, that the surviving Persons, in whom the Right for the above Tract in Fee was lodged; the Committee of the said Assembly therefore, after having examined the Matter as above mentioned found, that they could do nothing in favor of Peter Miller & his Party, both parties were consequently dismissed; and Samuel Eckerling was admonished, to settle the Matter in a Christian like manner.

Which he, as a pious & Just man, allways was willing to do, and of course he actually did by the Performance of his benevo-

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first part, "and the Religious body of people of both sexes now residing in said town, of the second part," containing the following members, viz.:

1. Brother Amos (John Mylin),
2. Brother Jaebez,
3. Brother Eleazer,
4. Brother Shontz,
5. Brother Shalia,
6. Brother Agabus,
7. Brother Philemon,
8. Brother Jonathan,
9. Brother Jemini,
10. Brother Gideon,
11. Brother Nathaniel,
12. Brother Kenan,
13. Brother Rupinus,
14. Brother Salina,
15. Brother Javado,
16. Brother Lamech,
17. Brother Obed,
18. Brother Macariners.

1. Mother Maria,
2. Sister Eugenia,
3. Sister Kathura,
4. Sister Anastatia,
5. Sister Ruclina,
6. Sister Europina,
7. Sister Basilla,
8. Sister Athanasia,
9. Sister Constantia,
10. Sister Sophia,
11. Sister Catharina,
12. Sister Sarah,
13. Sister Jael,
14. Sister Iphigenia,
15. Sister Rachel,
16. Sister Hannah,
17. Sister Zenobia,
18. Sister Melania,
19. Sister Zernia,
20. Sister Blandina,
21. Sister Eufasia.

lent Grant & Privileges [by the so-called tripartite deed] in the year 1770. Wherein that said Tract of Ephrata, was conveyed unto 5 Persons of both parties,[182] and their heirs in Trust, in a

[182] This tripartite was made February 3, 1770, between Samuel Eckerline, M.D., of Ephrata, of the first part, and Henry Sangmaster, John Adam Kelp, Isaac Sensemer, John Martin and Christian Ecstein, of Ephrata, trustees, of the second part, and

1. Hans Miley,
2. Jacob Meyer,
3. Henry Hocker,
4. Ludwig Hocker,
5. John Kypal,
6. Jacob Eicker,
7. Christian Luther,
8. Martin Funk,
9. Samuel Funk,
10. Peter Miller,
11. Jacob Funk,
12. George Miller,
13. Christian Rep,
14. Marcus Graff,
15. Martin Kroll,
16. John Kelp, of Ephrata, yeomen,

and 1. Mary Eicker,
2. Barbara Meyer,
3. Mary Landerf,
4. Hannah Lichten,
5. Veronica Funk,
6. Elizabeth Merck,
7. Elizabeth Eckstein,
8. Catharine Hageman,
9. Catharine Gartner,
10. Christiana Funk,
11. Barbara Bremin,
12. Elizabeth Hoefly,
13. Anna Thuney,
14. Susanna Stetler,
15. Mary Hocker,
16. Mary Graff,
17. Christiana Pessley,
18. Anna Pessley,
19. Mary Miller,
20. Catharina Henry,
Catharina Fuess,
Salome Guth,
Rosina Guth,
Anna Mary Harvey,
Catharina Kelp,
Anna Mary Martin,
Christiana Luther,
Barbara Landis, of Ephrata,

spinsters, of the third part, for all that tract of land called Ephrata, eighty acres, together with mills and cottages, to the five parties (trustees) in trust, who were all members of the Christian Society of Ephrata.

There was an allotment of one-quarter of an acre to each person for "garden purposes." The fruit to be divided; grass and produce of orchards and meadows, profits of paper-mill, etc., were to be expended in paying taxes, and all the profits arising from sales of produce to go into the common stock or fund to be expended for the aid and relief of such male and female members as became sick, aged or infirm.

If any of the members desired to marry they could occupy a cabin or cottage by themselves for the space of two years and no longer. When they left the society they were compelled to sign a release of all their interests in the estate to the trustees, and if they required it they were, upon leaving the society, allowed to receive five pounds each from the common fund.

tripartite Deed; and whereby the Inhabitants of both parties in Ephrata, obtained their Rights & Privileges as parttakers of his Grant, without distinction or restriction, as long as they live & reside on the said Premisses; except what propperly concerned the Cloister (but now extinct) he in so far restricted, that if any Person of either of the Sexes, should enter into Matrimony, after being dedicated to a Single life here, should have to reside here but 2 years afterwards, &c. But like our Constitution, he in every other respects, maintains a free tolleration of conscience: But our Granter did not stop here by only Granting his Privileges for those actually were at that time residing at Ephrata, but by his ample view, an association or increase of Inhabitants was likewise allowed by him, as will fully appear in his Grant.

Matters were thus settled for Ephrata and both parties thereby secured in their possession, to enjoy the Grant & Privileges given.

A disturbance, however, took place in the course of years afterwards by a certain Brother in the Cloister of Ussurping nature, but was happily settled in the year 1798.

In the above statement reference is made that in 1764 the dispute was brought before the Assembly. This was instituted by Henry Miller, the tavern-keeper, so as to perfect the title to the 100 acres conveyed to him in lieu of his contribution made at the time of the building of Hebron.[183] In this he was joined by the Kloster authorities under the counsel of Jaebez.

His petition does not appear to have been placed on record. In the next year, 1765, Samuel Eckerlin put in a counter petition, and both he and Prior Jaebez appeared before the Assembly to argue their case. The petition of Samuel Eckerlin was as follows:

A Petition from Samuel Ekerlin, of Cocalico Township, in the county of Lancaster, one of the Members of the religious

[183] *Cf.* vol. i, p. 474.

Society commonly called Seventh-Day Dunkers, was presented to the House and read, setting forth, that by a late Petition to Assembly, from several Members of the said Society, and from one Henry Miller, who is no Member of the same, containing certain Matters respecting the legal Title to One Hundred and Eighty Acres of Land, in Cocalico aforesaid, and the Trust attending the same Title, the Petitioner has been very unkindly represented, as a Man who, taking Advantage of an absolute Conveyance made to him, and the Neglect of his Brethren, who never caused a Declaration of Trust to be executed to them, would or might at any Time, under an apparent Right, and contrary to the Trust reposed in him, convey the Use of those Lands from the Members of the said Society, to the great Detriment of the same, and of Henry Miller aforesaid; the Petitioner therefore prayeth Leave to aver and protest, that he always has been, and still is, willing and ready to execute any Declaration of the aforesaid Trust, provided such Declaration be exactly conformable to the original Trust in him reposed; but that he never thought himself, or any other Member or Members of the said Society, in any wise authorized and impowered to grant in Fee simple, unto the said Henry Miller, One Hundred Acres of Land, Part of the aforesaid One Hundred and Eighty Acres, which, from the beginning of the Petitioner's Title to the same, were intended to be in Trust for the Members of the said Society. That the Petitioner has lately offered to the Members of the aforesaid Society a Deed of Feoffment for the said One Hundred and Eighty Acres of Land, to be vested in Trustees (a copy whereof was annexed to his petition), but some of the said Members seem dissatisfied therewith, and refuse to accept thereof; so that the Petitioner is absolutely at a Loss to know how he shall do Justice to the whole Society of Seventh-Day Dunkers, and at the same Time give Satisfaction to every Member thereof; but if Complaint may be set against Complaint, and Grievance against Grievance, the Petitioner may well complain, that some of those who so unkindly charged him with a Design to wrong the Society of Ephrata, have sold and delivered unto one John Senseman a Tract of Eighty-three Acres of Land, in Cocalico

aforesaid, which Israel Ekerlin, deceased, the Brother of the Petitioner, bought from the proprietaries, and took a Patent for in his own Name, though he intended it should be for the Good of the Society, and that since the Death of the said Israel Ekerlin, the legal Title to the said Eighty-three Acres is vested in the Petitioner, the only Brother of the said Deceased: That for the rest the Petitioner is very glad to see that his Friends at Ephrata have referred the Matter in Dispute between him and them to the Determination of the Honourable House of Representatives, because in respect to his own proper Estate and Interest in the said One Hundred and Eighty Acres, and the Eighty-three Acres aforesaid (as he never claimed, or will claim, any more than an equal Share with all his Brethren at Ephrata) he can, with the greatest Ease of Mind, submit the Whole to the Wisdom and Justice of the Honourable House.

The matter was tabled by the Assembly, but eventually found its way before a committee. The argument for the Kloster was made by Prior Jaebez. The decision, however, was against him, as he had erased his name from the original document. The outcome was the tripartite.

During the *régime* of Prior Jaebez the following legacies were left to the Community:

May 1, 1772, Peter Shoemaker left by will two hundred acres of land in trust for Christian people in Ephrata. May 1, 1772, an agreement or indenture was made between Peter Shoemaker, of Ephrata, of the one part, and Jacob Senseman, Ludwig Hacker, Jacob Eicher, Jacob Neagley, and Peter Fahnestock, of Ephrata, yeomen, and Barbara Mayer, Veronica Funk, Susanna Stetler, and Anna Lichty, spinsters, of Ephrata, of the other part: that for settling the plantation of two hundred and five acres for one year, it being a part of four hundred and five acres confirmed to Peter Shoemaker, Dec. 16, 1751, in trust for the Ephrata Society, provided the single brethren assumed and came under the name of "Brethren at Bethania," and the sisters assumed the name of "Sisterhood of Saron" (see Book of Deeds P, pp. 210, etc.).[184]

[184] In 1809 an Act of Assembly was passed authorizing the trustees of

Brother Amos (Jan Meyle) under date of January 13, 1783, made the following bequests :

I order and it is my Will that all my Joiners or Carpenters Tools shal be for ever the Property of the Brethren at Bethania in Ephrata and they shall be kept and lock'd up in my working shop for constant use, and I constitute hereby my Executor hereafter named to be Steward for said Tools and he shall take Care that they be kept together.

Item I order and it is my Will that all my Caskes, Buquets, Funnils, Quarts, Moggs, &c : shall also be for the aforesaid use, and I constitute Br :
John Frederick overseer over the same and he shall keep them lock'd up in the Cellar under my House for Public Use.

All My Cash I order to be paid into the Brethren's Public Stock under the Hand of their Steward—and if any of my Natural Relation should ask or demand from my Executors any thing from my Estate under pretence that he or they was or were my Heirs : I order my said Executor to give each an English Shilling Sterling and besides this they shall have no farther right to my Estate.

The residue of my Estate not disposed here I order my Executor by and with the assistance of another Brother to divide the same among the Single Brethren Share alike.

Finally I constitute Executor of this my Last Will my trusty Brother in Spirit Jacob Funk. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above written.

Signed Sealed and acknowledged by the Testator to be his Last Will and Testament in the presence of us underwritten Witness, who saw him subscribe the same.
beniamin bauman
Christian Bauman
John Bowman

hans Meyle { Seal }

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the German Baptists, Dunkers, or Religious Society of Ephrata to sell one hundred and fifty acres of the two hundred acres given them in 1772 by Peter Shoemaker. Robert Coleman purchased one hundred and one acres of this tract, adjoining the old Society land, for which he paid £1136.

Memorandum Whereas I John Mayly of Ephrata have some Time ago made my Will and Testament bearing date the 13 Day of January 1783.

Wherein I have ordered my Executor how to dispose of my little Estate I have since Dought proper to give some thing particular to my beloved Brother the President of the Society of Ephrata Peter Miller So I order and it is my Will that my House Clock shall be given unto him the said Peter Miller and also some of my Glass bottles and a funel. Item I give my folio Bible to Jacob Funk whom I have nominated Executor of my Last Will but in otherwise the above shall stand in its full Power done this Sixt Day of July in the Year one Thousand Seven hundred and Eighty tree.

Signed Sealed acknowledged by
the Testator in the presence of us.
beniamin bauman
Christian Bauman
John Bowman.

In July, 1787, Christian Eckstein, M.D. (Brother Gideon), of Ephrata, devised to the two societies, Bethania and Saron, in Cocalico, and to the brothers and sisters who have been there ten years, and have maintained the Christian Doctrine of Conrad Beisel, deceased, that hallowed the Seventh-day Sabbath, and the true apostolic water baptism, the Lord's Supper, and washing of feet regularly administered unto them, according to the gospel doctrine, and have kept themselves separate and pure from worldly dress, fashions and vanities, the profits of forty acres of land; to continue all the while there yet be living two persons of said societies who have maintained their ground for the space of twenty years.

Signed by Sister Elizabeth, and by Benjamin Bowman and Peter Fahnestock, executors (H. E. 429).

In 1796, Christian Bollinger, of Ephrata, at his decease gave twenty-five pounds to the Society of Seventh-day Baptists at Ephrata, to be expended in holding love-feasts.

When Peter Miller assumed the government of the Ephrata Community, the settlement was already in what may

be called a state of decline. Most of its inmates were rapidly verging upon the scriptural "three-score and ten." Nor were their numbers renewed with new and younger members. Every death among them left a gap in their midst. Virtually the only accessions of late years consisted of refugees from Virginia, and a few from the congregations west of the Susquehanna; some of the former had landed interests on the Shenandoah, and divided their time between the two settlements.

The industrial features, with the exception of the grist-mill, had also suffered of late years, although efforts were made to rehabilitate the printing office and continue the making of printing and writing papers. In all of these efforts, however, the brethren were handicapped by the increasing infirmities of age which necessitated the hiring of help.

The Sisterhood, under the leadership of Prioress Maria and her successor in office, the gentle and devout Eugenia, still bore semblance of what it was during the halcyon period of the Kloster.

Another factor, detrimental to the continuance of the monastic orders, was the changed situation of the surrounding country and its social and religious conditions. The influx of emigrants, the advent of new generations,—necessitating a division of the original farms,—the building of churches of orthodox faiths close upon the Kloster confines, and the arrival of regular ministers all had a depressing effect upon our monastic institution on the Cocalico.

The death of its leading spirit; internal dissensions; the retiring disposition of the new prior, and the increasing age and feebleness of the inmates, all added to the gradual decline of the institution.

No more pilgrimages were planned for spreading the Ephrata doctrine, no revivals held in the surrounding communities. The time for an aggressive policy was long past. It was now merely a question of existence until the few celi-

bates should pass from time into eternity, and the Kloster with its broad acres become vested in the secular congregation of Seventh-day Baptists.

Another factor which exercised a strong influence upon our monastic institution was the political situation,—it was one of unrest and doubt, foreshadowing war and bloodshed, and it was to leave its imprint upon our community, as the buildings were taken for hospital purposes, and many a brave patriot found his last resting-place upon the brow of Zion Hill

It is true that under the *régime* of Peter Miller several visits were made to and from the Antietam country, and an active intercourse was maintained with the congregation of the Apocalyptic Eagle, which it has been shown flourished well into the present century. The course of the parent Kloster, however, was a steadily downward one.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution, Congress was at a loss to find a trustworthy scholar to translate the diplomatic correspondence into the different tongues of Europe. Many of the professors and scholars of the Academy who were competent were either fugitives or suspected of Toryism; the same was true of many of the clergy of the Established Church. At this juncture Charles Thomson bethought himself of Prior Jaebez. The offer to do this work was made to him and promptly accepted—tradition tells us, with the proviso that he was not to receive a penny for his services. That this was accepted appears by the records of Congress.

Contemporary records tell us that the humble recluse of Ephrata translated the great American Magna Charta—the Declaration of Independence—into seven different languages, which were sent to the different Courts of Europe. Further, that this work was done in his humble cabin, now demolished, but fortunately photographed by the writer some years before its destruction (Vol. I, p. 183). An

iron lard lamp (*Fettlicht*) in the collection of the writer is said to have been used by Prior Jaebez in this work. However, be this as it may, the services rendered by Peter Miller to the Continental Congress can hardly be estimated at the present day.

How onerous this work was, and how great the importance and responsibility, will be seen when we consider that a change in the meaning or shading of a single word or sentence in the translation of this important document might have prevented its favorable acceptance by some well-disposed power.



HE experiences of the Kloster people during the Revolutionary War were destined to be both varied and severe. The first trial came at the very outbreak of hostilities in shape of a demand for cartridge paper. A number of protests were made by residents within and outside the Kloster that it would commit the Community and might lead to evil consequences in the event of the English army coming into the vicinity. "So it was resolved not to give up anything voluntarily, but that it would have to be taken by force." This stand at once brought a visit of the commissary sergeant with a detail of soldiers and two wagons. They at once confiscated all copies of the great Martyr-book still on hand, after making prompt payment for the value of the paper.

A few days after the battle of Brandywine, October, 1777, the peaceful Kloster confine was again invaded by the military, and it was doomed to become the scene of the most ghastly side of warfare.

Several of the large houses upon Zion Hill were seized by the soldiery for hospital purposes. The houses, saals and corridors which for years had resounded to words of prayer, songs of praise and sweet music of sacred anthems, and witnessed the administration of sacred ordinances, were

now filled with groans of agony and pain, while the air was heavy with the exhalations of the wounded and victims of camp-fever. The narrow corridors echoed the sound of heavy feet booted and spurred, varied as they were by the sharp word of command, with occasional blasts of the bugle, to which must be added the frequent sound of the muffled drum as another patriot was carried up to his last resting-place upon Zion Hill.

The following account of this episode is taken from the address made by the present writer, at the celebration of Patriots' Day, September 11, 1895.[185]

The battle of Brandywine was fought on Chester county's fruitful fields, Sept. 11, 1777, resulting in the retreat of Washington, and deciding the fate of Philadelphia. When the question arose that night at Chester what to do with the large number of sick and wounded soldiers, it was Washington who suggested sending at once all who could bear transportation to Ephrata. Why the Commander-in-chief did this is easily explained. He knew the Prior Jaebez personally, and was well satisfied of his devotion to the patriot cause. He also knew that the pious men and women here would tenderly care for the unfortunate patriots who were sent sick and maimed. No sooner was the order decided upon than means were taken to carry it out without delay. According to reliable tradition it was on the third day after the battle that the wagons began to arrive. They were not modern ambulances, but merely ordinary farm wagons without springs, in which the sufferers were laid on straw. In some cases the wagons were so arranged that there were two tiers of wounded, one above the other. It did not take long to fill both Kammers and Saal, as the stream of wagons seemed to be almost endless, and in less than a week Kedar and Zion were filled with hundreds of suffering patriots. The halls and corridors, which but a short time ago re-echoed

[185] The | Monument on Zion Hill. | An address | delivered on | Patriots' Day, | Wednesday, September 11, 1895, | by | Julius F. Sachse. | Lancaster, 1895.

the sweet music of the choirs, as it alternated with the fervent prayers of the mystic Theosophist, were now filled with the groans of the sick and moans of the dying. The devout Brotherhood no longer formed into nocturnal processions, chanting their mystic incantations to the divine Sophia, nor assembled at the matins in the Saal to salute the first rays of the sun as it flooded the Saal with its roseate light; but now as they noiselessly stepped from sufferer to sufferer, who occupied their rooms, they whispered words of hope to one, attended to the wants of others, and, when necessary, prayed with such as needed it. What is true of the Brotherhood is also true of the Sisters. Many a brave lad from a far-off province who lay here sick and wounded, and now rests here upon Zion Hill in an unknown grave, had his last moments cheered by one of the Sisterhood of Saron, who took a mother's place and soothed the dying moments of the young patriot. The whole story is one of self-denial and devotion in the interest of humanity.

To make matters still worse, shortly after the wounded soldiers were brought here, the malignant typhus or camp-fever broke out in both Kedar and Zion, a pestilence that carried away the soldiers as well as their attendants.

Now what was the course of these pious religious enthusiasts, whose property was so unceremoniously invaded, and whose whole domestic economy was destroyed for the time being? Did they object or protest? Did they for a moment remonstrate? No! They not only threw open their whole establishment, which then contained the largest buildings within the State, and gave them for hospital purposes, but the Brothers and Sisters, though all well advanced in years, never flinched for a moment in their duty, even when certain death stared them in the face. During the whole time that the deadly fever raged in the Ephrata hospitals, and even the chief doctor fell a martyr to his zeal, it was the Ephrata Brotherhood and the Sisters who nursed the sick patriots, soothed their dying moments, and after all was over gave them a Christian burial here in the consecrated ground of Zion Hill.

The period in the struggle for Independence, from September, 1777, to September, 1778, is known as the "Fatal Year."

The sufferings in the hospital department of the patriot army during that time were chiefly caused by scarcity of funds and deficient supplies of all kinds. One of the surgeons who was active at both Bethlehem and Ephrata at that time subsequently stated that "those were without exaggeration the darkest days of the Revolution."

History is silent as to the many acts of self-denial and charity of these God-fearing men and women while alleviating the pain and misery of the patriots. After years of careful search I have failed to find a single record of complaint from these humble heroes, or one setting forth any account of their losses or personal sufferings.

Doctor James Tilton, who visited the hospital here some time in 1777, tells us that not an orderly man or nurse in the hospital escaped an attack of the deadly fever, and but few of the surgeons. It is but just to state that these remarks applied to the general hospital at Bethlehem as well as Ephrata. Dr. Tilton continues: "Dr. Joseph Harrison, a fine young fellow distinguished for his assiduity, has just died." Our traditions of this sad incident are, that when Dr. Harris (or Harrison) was stricken with the deadly camp-fever he was removed to one of the smaller houses is the valley yonder, within the bounds of the Community, where he was tenderly cared for by Brother Joannes Anguas, a widower and one of the Brotherhood. Dr. Harrison, notwithstanding the care and attention bestowed upon him, soon fell a victim to the dread disorder, and his body, according to well-founded tradition, now rests on Zion Hill. Now, what was the sequel to this unselfish action of the old Ephrata mystic? He, too, was stricken with the fever, and in an old diary in my possession appears the following entry: "1778, March ye 4, departed this life, Brother Joannes Anguas." He was but another of those brave heroes who fell a victim to his duty and patriotism.

Dr. Tilton further states that, to give him some idea of the great mortality at the hospitals of Ephrata and Bethlehem, one of the surgeons at the latter place asked him if he was acquainted with Colonel Gibson's fine Virginia Volunteer Regiment. He then went on to say that forty of them had come to

his hospital, and then asked how many he supposed would ever rejoin their regiment. Dr. Tilton guessed a third or fourth part of the whole number. The surgeon thereupon solemnly declared that not even three would ever return, as that number was all that remained alive, and of these one had returned to his regiment, another was convalescent and might possibly recover, but the only remaining one was then in the last stages of the colliquative flux and must die. Dr. Tilton, in conclusion, states that "many similar melancholy instances might be adduced while the hospital was at Ephrata."

In addition to the great personal risks run and sacrifices made by the different individuals who composed the Ephrata Community, almost everything was taken from the society upon requisition of the quartermaster sergeants, who came around with surprising regularity. The paper and books in the printing office were taken to make cartridges, and so great was the demand for paper that upon subsequent visits even the hymn and prayer-books were taken from the Saal. The quilts and blankets in the Sisterhouse were seized for the convalescent soldiers, and the stores of grain were sent to replenish the commissary department of the main army while upon the bleak hills of Valley Forge.

For all this property that was taken or destroyed, as a matter of fact both Zion and Kedar, on account of the infection, had to be demolished after they ceased to be hospitals.

For the vast amount of stores given and taken, for the personal sacrifices made, the services and medicines furnished, and the burial of the dead, not a single shilling was ever asked or received by the Ephrata Community, so far as I know, from the government either of the State or Nation.

Was there ever a greater instance of patriotism shown during the whole course of our country's history than that instanced in the action of the Brothers and Sisters of the Ephrata Community during the trying period of the Revolution?

Just how many of these heroes and patriots succumbed in the performance of their self-imposed duty, or became invalids for the rest of their lives, may never be known. After much labor and time spent during the past ten years in research

into the history of this community, I have been able to compile the following partial list of members who died during the occupation of Kedar and Zion for hospital purposes:

Brother Martin Funk, the younger, October 5, 1777; Brother Johann Bentz; Sister Margaretha; Brother Johannes Koch; Brother Casper Walter, the younger.

1778—Sister Anna Maria Huber, January 19; Widow Gertraut Melinger, February 3; Henrich Miller, who kept the tavern, January 12; Brother Adam Kimmel, January 27; Brother Joannes Anguas, March 4.

To these names must be added those of John Bear and his wife, who voluntarily entered the hospital and nursed the sick. John Bear was a Mennonite preacher. They both caught the infection and died. The wife died March 20, 1778, and her husband on the 15th of April following. It is a noteworthy fact that no other instance is known in the whole history of the military hospitals in Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary war where the necessities were so great as to require the assistance of members of the general community.

We cannot even tell whether these humble heroes rest here upon Zion Hill or in the old God's acre by the roadside. However, no matter where they found a resting-place, it was their services, together with such of the Brethren and Sisters as survived, that made this spot "holy ground"—I may say holy in a double sense: First, as it is the resting-place of the patriots who gave their life for their country's independence; secondly, as it was sanctified by a religious community who never lost sight of their duty to God or their fellow-man.

Rev. Peter Miller was well known to General Washington, by whom he was greatly respected. In this connection it is well to repeat an oft-told story of Jaebez's Christian spirit and magnanimity. The account here presented was written early in the present century, and was some years later elaborated by the late Dr. W. M. Fahnestock. Although containing a few minor historical inaccuracies the original manuscript is printed in its entirety:

Next to Benedict Arnold, we may, perhaps, rank Michael Widman, not for any corresponding traits of talent or character, but for his perfidy and pusillanimity.

Soon as the news was spread abroad of the colonies having thrown off their allegiance to their Sovereign, the King of Great Britain—the people of almost every county or district organized themselves into committees of safety, who undertook to succor the cause of freedom, and aid in supplying the means to carry on the conflict for independence. Distinguished among these organizations was the Committee of Safety of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania; at whose head was Michael Widman, a prominent enterprising citizen, who had been exceedingly zealous in the cause of his country.

Widman kept a public-house at the crossings of the Lancaster and Reading road with the Brandywine and Paxton road, a short distance from Ephrata, the German Seventh-day Baptist settlement. There was no man more active, nor of bolder pretensions, than the same Michael Widman, while the star of freedom was in the ascendant; but he proved to be only a fair-weather man—a time-serving, truckling dastard—one moved by the lowest impulses of the human heart, the basest cowardice and the basest treachery.

One evening soon after General Howe had taken possession of the city of Philadelphia, two men, who had come incog. to reconnoitre the Ephrata establishment, to which place the wounded soldiers were sent by General Washington after the battle of Brandywine, rode up to Widman's tavern, and asked for lodgings. While they were seated at their supper, soon provided, they addressed Widman pleasantly, who was standing with his back to an open window; and after some commonplace remarks, Widman blusteringly inquired, "Whether they knew how that insidious scoundrel General Howe was getting along in Philadelphia."

Flushed instantly by the invidious remark, one of the men asked with some warmth, "What sir, would you think if you were to see General Howe before you?"

"Think?" he replied, as hastily, "I think I should see as d——d a scoundrel as ever walked."

In an instant the stranger sprang to his feet, and presenting a pistol to Widman's breast, exclaimed, "You d——d rebel, you are a dead man."

With as great agility, Widman threw himself out of the window, backwards, and thus saved himself. As the night was dark, he eluded pursuit: and the strangers, fearing a disturbance in the neighborhood from the occurrence, left immediately, and were never seen again in those parts.

Although a tavern-keeper, Widman was the most prominent man in that part of the country at the time, and always exercised an influence, for weal or for woe, as he bent his inclinations. He lived about midway between Ephrata and the old German Reformed Church of that vicinity, to which Peter Miller ministered before he embraced the principles of the Seventh-day Baptists, and became a brother in the monastic establishment over which he was soon called to preside as Prior. Widman was one of the "Vorstehers" in the German Reformed Church at the time Miller changed his views of divine truth and attached himself to the Baptists, and persecuted him unrelentingly and to the most shameful extent; even made it his habit to spit in the venerable old man's face every time and everywhere he met him, and otherwise abused and maltreated him scandalously.

After Widman's escape through the window, he first directed his course to the cornfield, then to the rocky margin of the Kochhalekung (now Cocalico), but not feeling safe or secure anywhere, and regarding his days numbered if detected, he, in his extremity, sought a place where no one would ever suspect him of being concealed, and hid himself in the Brothers' House in Ephrata, of whom he had been such a reviler and persecutor—not only of the Prior but of many other brethren. Entering its long narrow passages, which were never barred at night, he made his way quietly to the attic, or rather the upper unoccupied loft, in the peak of its high roof, and there lay behind a stack of chimneys, three days and three nights without food or drink. Ruminating on his position, his sad predicament, and fearing the worst, he resolved to go to Philadelphia and endeavor to conciliate General Howe, and finding his

way out again, about midnight on the fourth night he communicated his purpose to his wife, supplied himself with money and such clothing as he deemed needful and set out at once for the city.

On his arrival in Philadelphia he hastened to General Howe's quarters, and asked admission on the plea of having important matters to communicate to the commanding officer.

When Widman was ushered into the presence of General Howe he became very much embarrassed, and could not give utterance to a single word. To break that unmeaning pause, the General inquired, "With whom am I in communication?" Widman hesitated, and then said, that "when assured that forgiveness would be granted to one who had embraced the American cause from the onset, and had, in his zeal, been discourteous to the royal cause and its adherents, he would add important information of stores and ammunition concealed for the rebels."

While making this declaration, two officers were thumbing a book of entry on record before them, and before General Howe opened his lips in reply, the officers directed his attention to the page before them. After reading a short paragraph, during which he glanced his eye several times at Widman, he suddenly exclaimed, "Ah! sir, you are Michael Widman."

It was like a thunderbolt to him. He fell on his knees, and besought his mercy, and not only begged like a poor culprit, but proffered his services to perform any duty against the Americans.

General Howe's only reply was, "that it was the policy of the British officers to encourage disaffection in the rebel ranks; yet, one who had occupied such a position in the confidence of his countrymen as he, Widman had, and could prove treacherous to them on so slight a pretext—such a cowardly, contemptible pretext—could never be trusted in the Royal cause;" and gave him permission to depart, with orders that he be seen safely beyond the English outposts. Widman had not left his home two days before his wife proclaimed his purpose of dark treachery. Despatches were sent to all the American stations connected with the immediate detachments, apprising the officers

in command and Committee of Safety of the lower counties of Widman's design, and all were on the alert to secure him.

On approaching the first outposts of the American lines, he was discovered and arrested. He was carried to the nearest Block House, at the Turk's Head, now West Chester, where he was carefully kept in durance until a court-martial was summoned on his case.

The action of the Court was prompt and summary, and he was adjudged to be hung—the penalty for traitors in that day.

Among all who expressed an opinion on his base treachery, among his neighbors, who denounced him without stint, there was but one person who withheld condemnation and denunciation—but one soul that cherished a kindly thought for him, and that was Peter Miller, the much-abused Peter Miller.

Peter Miller, on hearing of his arrest, set out immediately, to the Camp at Valley Forge; at which place he arrived just as General Washington had approved and despatched, by a courier, the finding of the court-martial. Miller, being intimately acquainted with General Lee, who had visited him frequently, at Ephrata, as a scholar, was presented to the Commander-in-chief immediately. Washington received him graciously, for he had heard much of him favorably, as connected with the Ephrata monastic establishment during the war of 1756—the French war, as it was denominated—and had the highest testimonials of him in advance of this interview, from all the officers and surgeons in attendance on the wounded at the Cloister.

Washington requested him to be seated, but Miller replied that his business with him would not admit of a moment's delay—that it required immediate despatch, and instantly proceeded to plead for mercy towards Widman most forcibly, most eloquently.

It was a majestic tableau to look upon the American Commander-in-chief, General Lee, and several other staff officers, and Peter Miller, in his monastic wardrobe, standing in front, forming a most imposing group. Peter Miller was a tall man, of much grace, clad in a long gray tunic or toga, secured by a

single belt around his waist, while the cowl thrown back exposed his exuberant snowy hair and strong white beard, flowing in graceful waves over his shoulders and covering his whole chest in front, while his expressive face, strongly marked with intelligence and benignity, was animated by the warmest benevolence, as he sued for the life of a fellow-being. All were absorbed in listening to the burning words falling from the Prior's lips, which subdued the military idea of retaliation almost entirely in every breast. All began to regard the Commander-in-chief as disposed to exercise his prerogative of mercy; but rallying himself to the responsibilities of his station, he replied: "Friend Miller, there is scarcely anything in this world that I would deny to you, but such is the state of public affairs that it would be fatal to our cause not to be stringent, inexorable in such matters, and make examples of renegades to the cause of Liberty; otherwise I should most cheerfully release your friend." "Friend!" exclaimed Miller, interrupting General Washington, and at the same time throwing up both hands, as if in attestation to the Searcher of Hearts, "He is my worst enemy—my incessant reviler. For a friend I might not importune you; but Widman being, and having been for years, my worst foe, my malignant, persecuting enemy, my religion teaches me 'To pray for those who despitefully use me.'"

The tears coursed down the brave old Commander's cheek, and, taking Miller by the hand, he replied: "My dear friend, I thank you for this lesson of Christian charity. I cannot resist such a manifestation of our divine religion; the pardon shall be granted on one condition, and that is, that you be the bearer of it yourself, and hand it to the commanding officer at Turk's Head in Widman's presence."

Miller assented to the condition; the pardon was prepared with least possible delay and handed to the Prior, who set out immediately, and reached the Turk's Head on foot late that night, a distance of eighteen or twenty miles.

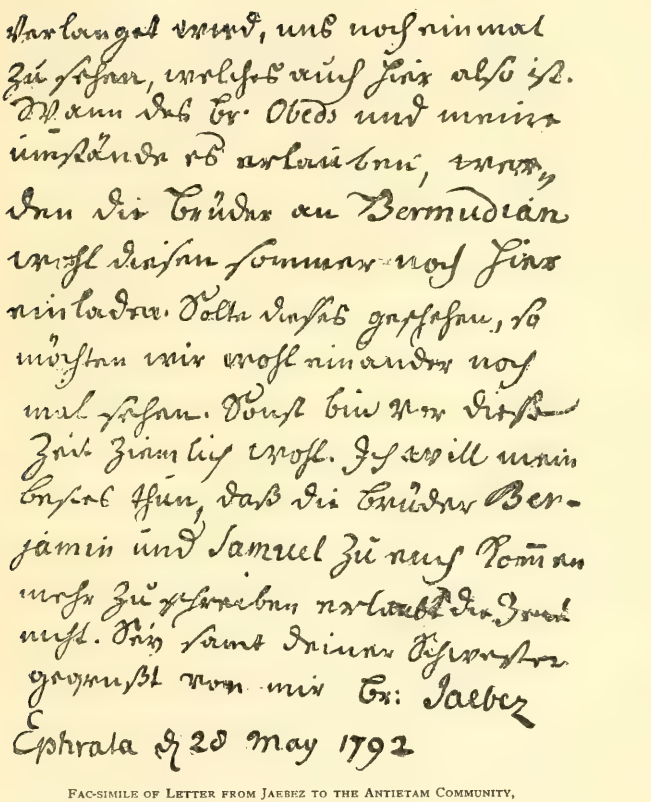
Rising early next morning, after a sleepless night, he found the front of the Block House surrounded by a few soldiers drawn up in a hollow square, having a gibbet in the centre,

and Widman standing on the step, with a rope adjusted round his neck, addressing those present. He acknowledged his treachery, and acquiesced in the award; warned them to faithfulness and steadfastness to the cause of Liberty; and just as he was beseeching mercy from above, Miller stepped forward and handed to the commanding officer a package, stating in an undertone that it was from the Commander-in-chief in reference to the matter before them. While the commander of the post was perusing the document Widman espied Peter Miller. He flushed and became greatly agitated, not knowing anything of the design of the Prior's visit, and could only assign his presence to the gratification it would afford him to see so vile and abusive a persecutor receive his just deserts.

Widman, summoning up courage, addressed Miller from where he stood: "Peter Miller, whatever has prompted your presence at this place at this time, I avail myself of the occasion to acknowledge my great and multiplied abuse and persecution with which I have followed you for years past, and esteem it the kindest providence that I have the opportunity to retract my numerous vilifications and outrages upon you and crave your forgiveness. My unmitigated persecution of you was beyond measure; and although I have no right to look for forgiveness for such wanton maltreatment, yet I trust that I may find pardon above ——." The commanding officer interrupted Widman at this point, by announcing to him that the Commander-in-chief had granted a pardon for his crime, and, presenting Peter Miller, added, "Here is your deliverer."



ENTION has been made of Peter Miller's activity and fostering care of the congregations west of the Susquehanna. His interest in these two churches continued until his death; a number of his letters are in the possession of the writer all teeming with love and solicitude for the two churches on the Bermudian and Antietam. His declining years were clouded with the infirmities of age and the natural decline of the old monastic establishment. A



Fac-simile of Letter from Jaebez to the Antietam Community,

Original in Sachse collection.

few years before his death he had a fall and fractured his hip; this lamed him so that any journey was out of question. He died September 25, 1796, aged 86 years and 9 months. But little is known of his latter days. A letter written by Brother Kenan (Jacob Funck), now in the writer's collection, tells us that for some considerable time before his end he was poorly, and that on the 11th of September he had another fall, which caused him to take to his bed until he died. His funeral was set for the 28th. The funeral was a sad one. The grave was dug beside that of Beissel, and preparations were made for a large funeral. As all of the celibates were old and more or less feeble, it was determined to invite a clergyman to perform the last rites. We are told that as the Reformed pastor refused to officiate, recourse was had to the pastor of the nearest Dunker congregation. Upon the day set for the funeral a terrific storm raged, the rain falling in torrents; yet, notwithstanding, a large concourse of people were present. Brother Jacob Stall, the Dunker preacher, delivered a suitable sermon, taking for his text, Rev. xiv: 12, 13.

"Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus.

"And I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth: Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labors; and their works do follow them."

After which the mortal remains of Prior Jaebez were consigned to the dark and narrow cell, there to rest until the last trump shall blow.

The inscription upon the tombstone reads:

*Hier liegt begraben* | PETER MILLER | Gebürtig aus Oberamt | Lautern in Chur Pfalz | Kam als Reformirter | Prediger nach America | im Jahr 1730 | Wurde | unter die Gemeine in | Ephrata getauft im | Jahr 1735 und genant |

Bruder Jabez, auch ward | Er nachmals ihr Lehrer | bis an Sein Ende | Entschlief d. 25 September | 1796.

Peter Miller was a friend and correspondent of Benjamin Franklin. They were fellow members of the American Philosophical Society, and frequently interchanged ideas upon scientific topics. The following letter to Franklin has been preserved in the Archives of the Society:

After we had Satiated our philosophical Appetite in your Excellency's learned Letters so far as our Capacity would admit; I return the same thankfully: it is astonishing, how much our present Age is refined by so many usefull Discoveries. By Your Excellencys Observations on Handels Compositions I Suppose, that You are still a Patron of Vocal Music, which is an excellent Study, and a Science inferior to none in all the World, She claims a Share in Mathematiks, and her rules are so uniform over all the World, as that 2 times 2 are 4. Besides there is nothing, that gives greater Delectation to human Minds than Vocal Music, as Plato says: Musicam divini quid Spirare, if she sounds out the Praise of the Most High, for which she is solely calculated. Her noble Character was greatly abused by Handel and others in theatrical Diversions, and they have greatly hurted her heavenly Sweetness by their curl'd Compositions, when they, as Your Excellency has well observed, sometimes dwell two Minutes on one Syllable, which is a great Nonsance in Music. Further it is a grand Mistake in a Concert, when all Sorts of Instruments are joined with the vocal Music without Consideration, for thereby the Dignity of the human Voice is eclipsed: and I am of Opinion, that among all musical Instruments non would insinuate itself better with human Voices than Your Excellency's new-invented Glass-Organ. The human Voice is a most noble Instrument, by which a Man may reveal his most intimate Recesses, even as God Himself made known by His eternal Word: many ways have been contriv'd to refine the Voice for Singing, and for this Purpose Castrates were introduced, for it was supposed, that human Cohabitation hurts the voice, Vox enim vaucescit. I should think, the Convents would afford the best Voices

without violating Nature, and what I have learn'd by Experience, is, that with a Convent-Man his juvenile Voice returns, when sixty years old, and I know Sundry, who have sung the Bass in their Youth, and now are employ'd in the highest voice. I beg Your Pardon for my Garrulity, and wish that the Lord our God would prolong Your Days for the public Utility, and grant You his paternal Assistance, in all heavy Struggles, which may befall you in your grand Age, in wishing this I remain

Your Excellency's

Ephrata the 10th of Oct: 1786.

most humble Friend
Peter Miller.

To His Excellency Benjamin Franklin.

Reference was made in the early pages of this chapter to a paper read before the American Society for Promoting Knowlege. At a later day another paper was prepared to be read before the United Society, diligent search, however, fails to bring to light any note upon it in the minutes. The original is in the collection of Mr. George Steinman, of Lancaster. It is here reproduced verbatim:

PETER MILLERS' SCHEME OF FLOATING FIRE-WOOD ON CREEKS.

The bringing of fire-wood to the towns in creeks by water is an article as unknown in this Province as necessary as he is for to supply such towns with wood, who are not distant from such creeks. In Germany it is a very important business and requires a peculiar skill, which I shall mention here. When the trees are cut down of that wood, which is intended to be sent to any town by water, the trunk must not be severed from the top for the space of three months; for also the top draws out of the trunk all humidity, which commonly do make wood sinking, the fire-wood thus prepared, and being well dry'd in the Summer season, is then carried in the water, for which purpose any small branch of Conestoga river will serve, for if any place there is defect of water and rifts, they force the wood over the rifts by a damn made in a hurry, which they

call in their proper language, to captivate water, or they carry it down said little runs by freshes, till they reach larger streams, where wood without danger can be safely conducted to the destined places, at which places a cross-boom must be made, to stop said wood, which is how its structure ought to be, necessity will teach, and it ought to be observed, that nothing but high-water is dangerons for that purpose, being apt to destroy the cross-boom and carry by its rapidity the wood down the water, for which reason the said cross-boom ought to be emptied and kept clear of wood, as much as possible.

The wood intended to be floated may lay in any water safely (high water excepted) for the space of 5 weeks without soaking so much water as to make it sink, which experience had teached by heckary [sic], which is accounted to be the heaviest of all fire-wood.

The branches of Conestoga River extend very far into a country plentiful of all sorts of timber fit both for building and fire, and the farmers do destroy every year a great quantity thereof, having no use for it. At Emanuel Carpenter's two head branches of said river join together, each branch has several other branches, as Cogolico receives Middle Creek and some others without names. All the circumjacent country is well timbered, and it is possible to bring said branches wood any fresh altho there be obstruction therein, for the fresh carrieth the wood over all the damns, and as it is but a small water, you can stop the wood at any place before you reach the river itself, till the fresh is gone, but if you are come to the river itself, you are to wait for common water, for a fresh would by its impetuosity destroy your cross-boom. Whereas it seems, that the river Conestoga for the floating of wood ought to be clear of all obstructions, but the case in smaller branches is very different from this.

Another branch of Conestoga extendeth itself far towards the east, and received several other branches, the chief thereof is Muddy Creek, which taking its course through a country marvellously stored with timber, could alone supply a large town with fire-wood, and it seems practicable, that fire-wood by that branch could be brought from ten miles distant from

Reading to Lancaster, as also, that other towns in the province will in time to come make recourse to the same method, ex: gr: Reading by that way could receive the fire-wood not only from dulpehakin but even from the Tiscarora Hills.

The following poem, composed in honor of Prior Jaebez, is said to be from the pen of Francis Hopkinson:

"To Peter Miller, Principal of the Society of Dunkers, Ephrata.

"TH' Eternal God from His exalted throne
Surveys at once earth, heav'n and worlds unknown:
All things that are before His piercing eye
Like the plain tracings of a picture lie;
Unutter'd thoughts, deep in the heart conceal'd,
In strong expression stand to Him reveal'd;
Thousands and twice ten thousands every day
To Him or feign'd or real homage pay:
Like clouds of incense rolling to the skies,
In various forms their supplications rise:
Their various forms to Him no access gain,
Without the heart's true incense, all are vain;
The suppliants' secret motives there appear
The genuine source of every offer'd prayer.

"Some place RELIGION on a throne superb,
And deck with jewels Her resplendent gray;
Painting and sculpture all their powers display,
And lofty tapers shed a lambent ray.
High on the full-ton'd organ's swelling sound
The pleasing anthem floats serenely 'round;
Harmonic strains their thrilling pow'rs combine,
And lift the soul in ecstasy divine.

"In Ephrata's deep gloom you fix your seat
And seek RELIGION in the dark retreat;
In sable weeds you dress the heav'n-born maid,
And place Her pensive in the lonely shade;
Recluse, unsocial, you your hours employ,
And fearful, banish every harmless joy.

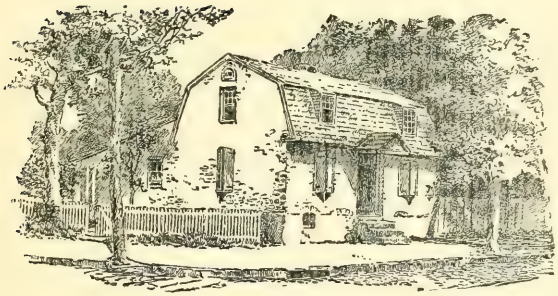
"Each may admire and use their favorite form,
If heav'n's own flame their glowing bosoms warm.
If love divine of God and man be there,
The deep-felt want that forms the ardent prayer.
The grateful sense of blessings freely given,
The boon, unsought, unmerited of heav'n.



THE EPHRATA KLOSTER IN THE YEAR 1900.

"Tis true devotion . . . and the Lord of love,
Such pray'rs and praises kindly will approve,
Whether from golden altars they arise,
And wrapt in sound and incense reach the skies;
Or from your Ephrata, so meek, so low,
In soft and silent aspirations flow.

"Oh! let the Christian bless that glorious day,
When outward forms shall all be done away,
When we in spirit and in truth alone
Shall bend, O God! before thy awful throne,
And Thou our purer worship shalt approve
By sweet returns of everlasting love."



THE OLD JOHNSON HOUSE, GERMANTOWN.




## CHAPTER XXI.

### ISSUES OF THE KLOSTER PRESS.




HAMILTON ARMS.

CONTINUING our *résumé* of the issues of the Ephrata press, the first publication to attract our attention is Part I of "Beissel's Theosophical Lessons," a quarto of 432 pages. Of these 350 are taken up with 267 lessons or lectures, all based upon his ascetic, mystic and theosophical doctrines, 44 pages are devoted to theosophical proverbs, or more properly speaking, "The Rules for a Solitary Life," while the remaining 36 pages are filled with devout and theosophical poems. The title reads:

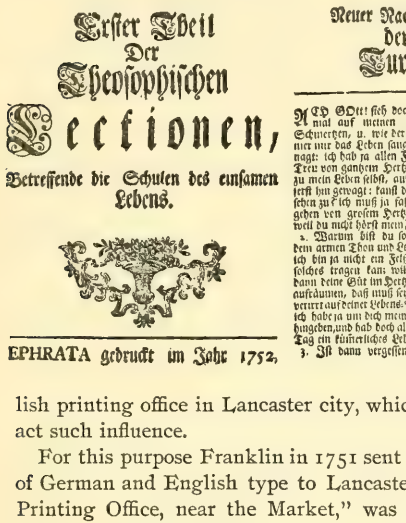
*Erster Theil | Der | Theosophischen | Lectionen | Betreffende die Schulen des einsamen | Lebens. | Ephrata gedruckt im Jahr 1752.*

Another issue belonging to this immediate period is a small quarto of 32 pages—*Neuer Nachklang des Gesängs der Einsamen Turtel Taube.*

It contains 12 hymns and a poem upon the "Divine Pas-

sion." It was issued without any title-page or imprint, but conforms in every respect with the issue of 1747.[186]

Even while the above book was upon the press, Benjamin Franklin, becoming jealous of the Brotherhood press, and its possible influence upon the Germans in Lancaster and the adjoining counties, planned to establish a German and English printing office in Lancaster city, which would counteract such influence.



Erſter Theil
Der
Theoſophiſchen
Lectionen,
Betreffende die Schulen des einſamen Lebens.

EPHRATA gedruckt im Jahr 1752.

Neuer Nachklang des Geſangs
der einſamen
Turtel Taube.

For this purpose Franklin in 1751 sent a press with a lot of German and English type to Lancaster, and the "New Printing Office, near the Market," was opened the same year. It appears to have been in charge of one James Chattin. The only issue was an almanac for 1752. Chattin was soon recalled to Philadelphia, the office removed to King street and reopened under a new management with increased facilities. Both German and English printing was to be done there,—the former by Heinrich Miller, the latter by Samuel Holland.

[186] The only known copy is in the collection of the writer.

15^tes Stück.

# Die Lancasterſche Zeitung:

Oder,

## Ein Kurzer Begriff

Der

Hauptſächlichſten Ausländiſch- und Einheimiſchen Neuigkeiten.

Numb. 15.

# THE LANCASTER GAZETTE:

OR,

## A *COMPENDIUM*

OF THE

Moſt material FOREIGN and HOME NEWS.

Den 28^ten July, 1752.

*July* 28, 1752.

Smyrna, den 14. Jan.

DEr Franzöſiſche Conſul hat alle Schiffe dieſer Nation aufgenommen, um nach Volo und Salmonica, in Archipelago zu ſegeln und 60000 Buſchel Frucht vor Franckreich einzuladen. Als nun der Abgeſandte zu Conſtantinopel um Erlaubniß wegen Ueberführung derſelben gebetten, antwortete der Türckiſche Kayſer, daß er es nicht nur einwilligte, ſondern daß ſie auch noch ſolten Zollfrey ſeyn, ſich freuende, Gelegenheit zu haben,

*SMYRNA, January* 14.

THE French Conſul has taken up all the Ships of that Nation, to ſail to Volo and Salmonica in the Archipelago, to take in ſixty Thouſand Buſhels of Corn for France. When the Ambaſſadore at Conſtantinople asked Leave for ſuch an Exportation, the grand Signior's Anſwer was, that he not only conſented to it, but that it ſhould alſo be Duty free, gladly embrace-

HEADING OF LANCASTER GAZETTE.

The first issue of this press under the new management, so far as known, was a circular letter of the Reformed Congregations, setting forth the successful results of Rev. Michael Schlatter's collecting tour.[187]

By far the most important issue of this press, however, was a newspaper published fortnightly:

*Die* | *Lancastersche* | *Zeitung:* | *Oder*, | *Ein Kurzer Begriff* | *Der* | *Hauptsächlichsten Aus-* | *ländisch- und Einhei-* | *mischen Neuigkeiten.* The | Lancaster Gazette: | or, | A Compendium | of the | Most material Foreign | and Home News.

This was a folio 13 x 8½ inches. The first number was issued January 15, 1752, and was printed in German and English in parallel columns, the bilingual heading being separated by the Hamilton Arms. Eleven numbers were issued by the firm of Miller & Holland, then a disagreement arose between the two men and Miller withdrew from the firm, and in the twelfth number of the newspaper the imprint was changed so as to read, *Printed by S. Holland at the Post-office in King Street.*

The enterprise did not prosper, as it failed to receive the support of either the English or Germans of the interior counties. The last number (31) bears the date of June 5, 1753. Franklin by this time had become thoroughly dissatisfied with his venture and sold the plant to Holland, taking in payment therefor his bond dated June 14, 1753, for 200 pounds, a fac-simile of which is here presented.[188]

Accompanying this bond is the curious agreement,[189] also presented in fac-simile on page 445.

This arrangement proved far from satisfactory to Franklin. Early in the year Holland was ousted, and William

[187] Only known copy in Library at the Hague.

[188] Original in collection of American Philosophical Society.

[189] *Ibid.*

KNOW all Men by these Presents, That I Samuel Holland of the Borough of Lancaster and Province of Pensilvania, Printer am Held and firmly bound unto Benjamin Franklin of the City of Philadelphia, Printer in the Sum of Two Hundred Pounds Lawful Money of America, to be paid to the said Benjamin Franklin, his certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators or Assigns, To which Payment well and truly to be made, I do bind my self, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, firmly by these Presents Sealed with my Seal Dated the Fourteenth Day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Fifty three in the 26th Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord George the Second by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.

THE Condition of this Obligation is such, That if the Above-bounden Samuel Holland his Heirs, Executors, Administrators, or any of them, shall and do well and truly pay or cause to be paid unto the above-named Benjamin Franklin, his certain Attorney, Executors, Administrators, or Assigns, the just and full Sum of One Hundred Pounds Lawful Money aforesaid, on the Fourteenth Day of June, which will be in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven hundred and Fifty four, with Lawful Interest for the same without any Fraud or further Delay, then the above Obligation to be Void, or else to be and remain in full Force and Virtue.

Sealed and Delivered in the Presence of us
James Parker Sam[l] Holland
Chs Thomson

LANCASTER: Printed by S. HOLLAND, at the Post-Office.

BOND PRINTED BY SAMUEL HOLLAND AT LANCASTER, AND GIVEN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

Lancaster made
Memorandum of Agreement this 4th Day
of June 1753. between Benjamin Franklin
and Samuel Holland Printers viz

That the said Benjamin Franklin doth let
to the said S. Holland, his Printing Press and
Types with other Printing Materials, now in
the Possession of said Sam.l Holland at Lancaster ex-
cept half the Long Primer Roman and Italic, on the
Terms viz. That the said Samuel Holland pay
therefor the Sum of Twenty Pounds of Lawful
in four Quarterly Payments, the first Pay-
ment on Michaelmas Day next, and shall keep
the Types in good Order, clean and free from Rust,
the Press and other Materials in good repair
and shall not suffer the Rent of the House in
which they are at any Time kept, to be more
than one Quarter in Arrear. And when the
said B Franklin or Sam.l Holland shall either
of them incline to vacate this Agreement
the Party so inclining shall give the other
at least three Months Notice. And the said
Benjamin Franklin, or his legal Representative
shall be at liberty to visit and view the said Printing
Press and Materials whensoever he or they shall
think fit, to see in what order they are kept.
And the said Sam.l Holland doth hereby pro-
mise to make the above Payments, and perform
during the term of this Agreement punctually,
so far as regards him.

Sam.l Holland
B Franklin

AGREEMENT BETWEEN FRANKLIN AND HOLLAND.

Dunlap became manager of Franklin's press at Lancaster, February 1, 1754, remaining there until April 1, 1757, when he too went to Philadelphia.

The following bill is among the Franklin papers in the American Philosophical Society:

WILLIAM DUNLAP TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, DR.,

To hire of my Printing Office at Lancaster from February 1, 1754, until April 1, 1757, is 3 Years & 2 Months @ £20. per An'm £61.13.4.

We know of no Ephrata imprints bearing date of 1753. That the Brethren in the printing office were not idle is



WATERMARK ADOPTED BY THE COMMUNITY AFTER THE EXPULSION OF THE ECKERLINS.

shown by Acrelius, who notes that they were engaged upon large pieces, some two, others three ells long (4 and 6 feet) engraved on wood, for printing tablets, consisting of verses

or passages of Scripture. This is the earliest mention of what we would now call poster blocks, or wood engraving upon a large scale in this country. None of these posters have come down to us.

In the Danner collection of Manheim there are three engraved blocks, such as were used to print linens, these are said to have been made at the Ephrata Kloster.

Early in the next year, 1754, however, there was printed the folio known as the *Paradisisches Wunderspiel* (Paradisaical Wonder-Music, or more properly, Wondrous Paradisaical Concert). A full description of this issue, together with a fac-simile of its title-page, has been given in a previous chapter.[190]

This book of 212 pages bears the imprint *Ephratæ Sumptibus Societatis*, and is one of the most remarkable specimens of Pennsylvania book-making. The text begins on the reverse of the title. The page is not quite 14 inches in length. Most of the space was given to staff lines, the notes being filled in with the pen. Provision was made for choruses of four parts, in some pieces for six and even seven parts.

The text over the staff consists partly of hymns, partly of adaptations from the Song of Solomon and the Apocalypse. Altogether there are forty-nine pieces. The end of each musical phrase is marked by more or less elaborate penwork in two or three colors, amounting occasionally to an illumination, generally in the shape of a floral design.[191]

The *Wunderspiel* was followed with a German version of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," issued in two volumes duodecimo of 280 and 264 pages respectively, at the expense of the Brotherhood:

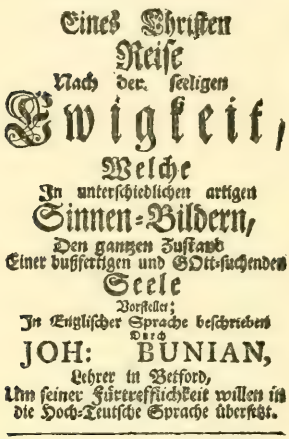
*Eines Christen | Reise | Nach der seeligen | Ewigkeit, etc. Durch | Joh: Bunian, | Lehrer in Betford, | Um seiner Fürtrefflichkeit willen in | die Hoch-Teutsche Sprache über-*

[190] Cf. p. 150.

[191] See page 316, *ibid.*

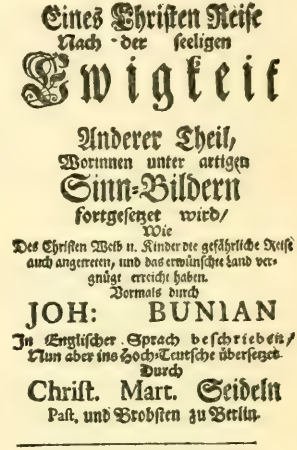
*setzt.* | *Ephrata in Pennsylvania.* | *Drucks und Verlags der Brüderschafft,* | *Anno 1754.*

A fac-simile of the title-pages of both first and second volumes are here shown.



Eines Chriſten
Reiſe
Nach der ſeeligen
Ewigkeit,
Welche
In unterſchiedlichen artigen
Sinnen-Bildern,
Den gantzen Zuſtand
Einer buſſfertigen und GOtt-ſuchenden
Seele
Vorſtellet;
In Engliſcher Sprache beſchrieben
Durch
JOH: BUNIAN,
Lehrer in Betford,
Um ſeiner Fürtreffligkeit willen in
die Hoch-Teutſche Sprache überſetzt.

EPHRATA in Pennſylvania.
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderſchafft,
Anno 1754.



Eines Chriſten Reiſe
Nach der ſeeligen
Ewigkeit
Anderer Theil,
Worinnen unter artigen
Sinn-Bildern
fortgeſetzet wird/
Wie
Des Chriſten Weib u. Kinder die gefährliche Reiſe
auch angetreten, und das erwünſchte Land ver-
gnügt erreicht haben.
Vormals durch
JOH: BUNIAN
In Engliſcher Sprach beſchrieben/
Nun aber ins Hoch-Teutſche überſetzet
Durch
Chriſt. Mart. Seidel
Paſt. und Probſten zu Berlin.

EPHRATA in Pennſylvania
Drucks und Verlags der Brüderſchafft
Anno 1754.

The year closed with an English edition of John Freame's "Scripture Instruction," it was a reprint of the London edition of 1713. A 16mo. of 162 pages. It is not known at whose instance this was printed.[192]

During 1755 a number of new hymns were printed at the cost of the Brotherhood, as an appendix to the *Turtel Taube* of 1747. It was a quarto of 112 pages:

*Nachklang* | *Zum* | *Gesäng der einsamen* | *Turtel Taube,* | *Enthaltend eine neue Sammlung* | *Geistlicher Leider.* | *Ephrata Drucks der Brüderschafft* | *Im Jahr 1755.*

Early in the next year, 1756, we have another collection

[192] For another unique imprint of 1754 see page 466.

of devout poems, in which both the Brotherhood of Bethania and the Roses of Saron were interested.

The first of these collections is known as the *Brüderlied*,

Nachklang
Zum
Gesäng der einsamen
Turtel Taube,

Enthaltend eine neue Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder.

EPHRATA Drucks der Brüderschafft
Im Jahr 1755.

or "Hymns of the Brethren." *Wunderspiel* of 1796. 4to., 30 pp.

Ein
Angenehmer Geruch der
Rosen und Lilien
Die im Thal der Demuth unter den Dornen hervor gewachsen.

Alles aus der Schwesterlichen Gesellschafft in SARON.

Im Jahr des Heils 1756.

Ein
Angenehmer Geruch der
Rosen und Lilien
Die im Thal der Demuth unter den Dornen hervor gewachsen.

Alles aus der Brüderlichen Gesellschafft in BETHANIA.

Im Jahr des Heils 1756.

It was incorporated in the

The hymns of the Sisterhood follow, 4to., 28 pp.:

*Ein | Angenehmer Geruch der | Rosen und Lilien | Die im Thal der Demuth unter | den Dornen hervor gewachsen. | Alles aus der Schwesterlichen Gesell- | schafft in Saron. | Im Jahr des Heils 1756.*

To this was added an appendix of 18 pages under the title of *Nachgesammelter Anhang zu dem Rosen und Lilien.*

No issues of the Ephrata press bearing dates of 1757 or 1758 are known; none have come down to us, and there is but a single one of 1759, viz.:

*M. Tobias Wagner's Abschieds-Rede an seine Lutherische Gemeinden in Pennsylvanien, welche er zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten als Prediger alle 14 Tage oder 4 Wochen bedienet, vornehmlich in* 1. *Richmond von* 1743 *bis* 1759. 2. *Ruscombauer von* 1749 *bis* 1759. 3. *Windsor von* 1758 *bis* 1759. 4. *Earltown von* 1749 *bis* 1755. 5. *Lancaster von* 1751 *bis* 1753. 6. *Bern von* 1745 *bis* 1750. 7. *Dulpehakin von* 1743 *bis* 1746. 8. *Allemangel von* 1749 *bis* 1754. 9. *Der Protestan. Kirche von* 1744 *bis* 1746. 10. *Freunds Kirche von* 1744 *bis* 1746. 11. *North Kill von* 1744 *bis* 1746. 12. *Elsatz von* 1748 *bis* 1752. 13. *Reading, etliche mal angenommen, etliche mal abgedanckt. Ephratæ Typis Societatis. 1759.*

M. Tobias Wagners
Abschieds-Rede
an seine Lutherische
Gemeinden in Penn-
sylvanien

Welche er zu unterschiedlichen Zeiten
als Prediger alle 14. Tag oder 4.
Wochen bedienet; vornehmlich in

1. Richmond von 1743. bis 1759.
2. Ruscombauer von 1749. bis 1759.
3. Windsor von 1758 bis 1759.
4. Earltown von 1749. bis 1755.
5. Lancaster von 1751. bis 1753.
6. Bern von 1745. bis 1750.
7. Dulpehakin von 1743. bis 1746.
8. Allemängel von 1749. bis 1754.
9. Der Protestan. Kirche von 1744. bis 1746.
10 Freunds Kirche von 1744. bis 1746.
11. North-Kill von 1744. bis 1746.
12. Elsatz von 1748. bis 1752.
13. Reading etliche mal angenommen, etliche mal abgedanckt.

EPHRATÆ Typis Societatis.
MDCCLIX.

It appears that in 1760 Simon König, one of the traveling companions of Beissel across the ocean, published a laudatory essay wherein he designates the Ephrata Community "as the most devout in the whole world." No copy of this work is known, nor is the future history of the author. It appears that König after his land operations in Lancaster county must have suffered some reverse, and, becoming tired of the vanities and turmoil of the world, sought rest within the Klos-

ter. No mention of his death appears in the Register, at least not under his family name.

The next Ephrata issue known to us is a duodecimo of 39 pages, it was also printed by and at the expense of the Brotherhood:

*Abgeforderte | Relation | der Erscheinung | eines entleibten Geists | Dem Publico zur Nachricht getreulich | aus dem Mund derer, die von An- | fang bis ans Ende mit interessirt, | aufgeschrieben. | Ephratæ Typis & Consensu Societatis, | Anno Domini MDCCLXI.*

Abgeforderte

RELATION

der Erscheinung
eines entleibten Geists

Dem Publico zur Nachricht getreulich aus dem Mund derer, die von Anfang bis ans Ende mit interessirt, aufgeschrieben.

Und da der Geist vor mir über ging stunden mir die Haare zu Berg an meinem Leibe. Hiob IV–15.

Neuhervorgebrachtes
Gesäng der einsamen
Turtel-Taube,

Zur gemeinschafftlichen Erbauung gesammlet und ans Licht gegeben.




EPHRATÆ Typis Societatis Anno 1762.

EPHRATÆ Typis & Consensu Societatis,
Anno Domini MDCCLXI.

This was merely Conrad Beissel's account of the spiritual manifestations in connection with Elizabeth Böhler, which have been fully described in the previous chapter.

The year 1762 was commenced with a new edition of the *Turtel Taube.* It was a 12mo. with preface of 3 pages, text 329 pages, and register 3 pages. It contained 183 hymns, 80 of which were written by Beissel.[193]

*Neu-vermehrtes | Gesäng der einsamen | Turtel-Taube, | Zur gemeinschafftlichen Erbauung ge- | sammelt und ans Licht gegeben. | Ephratæ Typis Societatis Anno 1762.*

Upon the title-page of this book the seal of the Society appears for the first time upon any imprint of the Ephrata press. The original was engraved upon a copper plate and separately printed and pasted upon the title; in some cases it was separately printed directly upon the title.

This seal or vignette is within a circle three and one-quarter inches in diameter. In the lower center there is an altar upon which is a nest full of young birds, above this is a large bird with outstretched wings, bearing an olive branch in his beak. The inscription upon the altar is *Non Omnibus simul.* The circular legend around the picture reads *Invenit Hirundo Nidum Jehova Altaria Tua Ψ 84.*

This seal with its curious inscription, which has caused so much speculation and brought forth so many diverse explanations of different writers, is simply symbolical of the third verse of the eighty-fourth Psalm. The sign Ψ is merely a Greek Psi, and was used to denote Ps(alm). Below the altar are the words *Deliciæ Ephratenses.*

This was followed by an Ephrata edition of *Wudrian's Creutz-Schule*, a devotional octavo of 465 pages. A facsimile of the title-page is upon the opposite page.

Upon the last page there appears the following colophon:

*Impressum Ephratæ in Comitatu Lancastriensi Typis Sociatatis per Godofredum Zeusingerum, Kistrino-Brussum anno post partum virginis millessimo septingentesimo sexagesimo secundo.*

From the above it would appear that, although the title

[193] Copy in collection of the writer.

M. Valentin Wudrians ſeel.

# Creutz-Schule,

In ſich haltend:
Eine ſchöne Chriſtliche Unterweiſung von dem lieben Creutz;
Vor alle

## Creutz-Brüder und Schweſtern,

Als durch welches Mittel ſie ſich in allerhand zuſtoſſendem Creutz, Trübſal, Krankheit Noth und Tod kräfftiglich aufhelffen und aus Gottes Wort tröſten mögen;

Nebſt einem zu End eines jeden Capitels angehängtem Geſpräch zwiſchen Chriſt und der Seelen.

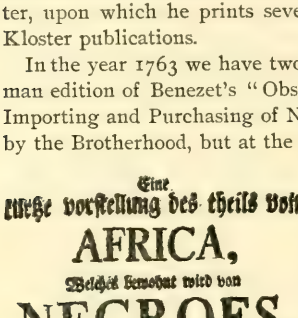
Zuſammen getragen von einem wolgeprüfften Creutz-Bruder des Lambs folger Jeſu Chriſto.



*EPHRATA* Drucks u. Verlags der Brüderſchafft
Anno 1 7 6 2.

says "printed and published by the Brotherhood," it was a private venture of one Godfrey Zeusinger, of Küsterin, Germany. Nothing is known of the above Godfrey Zeusinger. In the very next year, however, one J. George Zeisiger appears to have control of one of the presses of the cloister, upon which he prints several books, which were not Kloster publications.

In the year 1763 we have two series of imprints. A German edition of Benezet's "Observations on the Enslaving, Importing and Purchasing of Negroes." This was printed by the Brotherhood, but at the expense of some Friends:


Eine
kurtze vorstellung des theils von
AFRICA,
Welches bewohnt wird von
NEGROES,
Darinnen beschrieben wird die fruchtbarkeit desselben landes, die gutartigkeit dessen einwohner, und wie man daselbst den sclaven-handel treibt. Ausgezogen aus verschiedenen Authoren, und die ungerechtigkeit solchen handels und die falsche heit derer gründen, womit er behauptet wird, an tag zu legen.
Nebst anführung mancher schrifftlichen zeugnissen von verschiedenen nahmhafften personen als: George Wallis, Georg Churchinson und Jacob Foster, und einem auszug eines in London neulich gedruckten büchleins, welches auch von gedachtem sclaven-handel handelt.
Zweymal in Engländischer sprache, und nun zum drittenmal, und das der Hochteutschen Nation zur mitleidenlichen betrachtung des zustands ihrer armen mitgeschöpffen, in ihrer sprache, heraus gegeben.
EPHRATA Drucks der Societät auf kosten etlicher freunden. Anno Domini M D C C L X I I I.

*Eine|kurtze vorstellung des theils von | Africa, | Welches bewohnt wird von | Negroes, | Darinnen beschrieben wird die fruchtbarkeit des- | selben landes, die gutartigkeit dessen einwohner, | und wie man daselbst den sclaven-handel treibt. | Zweymal in Engländischer sprache und nun zum drittenmal,|und das der Hochteutschen Nation zur mitleidenlichen | betrachtung des zustands ihrer armen mitgeschöpffen, in ih- | rer Sprache, heraus gegeben. Ephrata Drucks der Societat auf Kosten et- | licher freunden. Anno Domini MDCCLXIII.*

The other series bears the imprint of the above-mentioned Johann George Zeisiger.

Neither of the following are in any manner connected with the Kloster theosophy:

"The Christian's duty, to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, considered with regard to the payment of the present tax of sixty thousand pounds granted to the king's use."

This was a reprint of a pamphlet which was originally published in Philadelphia, 1756. As a place of printing the fictitious name Parthenopolis (*i. e.* Virgin City) is given, by which Ephrata is occasionally designated.

Gründlicher Unterricht

Von den

METALLEN,

Darinnen beschrieben wird, wie sie werden in der Erden generirt; und was man insgemein dabey findet.

In zwey Büchern

Vormals im Spanischen beschrieben durch Albaro Alonso Barba, Pfarrherr zu St. Bernards Kirchspiel in der Kayserlichen Stadt Potosi, in dem Königreich Peru, in West-Indien; im Jahr 1664.

Hernach in das Engländische übersetzt durch Edward, Graff von Sandwich. Anno 1669

Und nun um seiner Vortrefflichkeit willen zum erstenmal ins Hochteutsche übersetzt, und zum Druck befördert, durch

G. R.

Dieser Kunst Beflissenen.

Nebst einem neuen Anhang betreffend Materie

EPHRATA

Gedruckt durch J. Georg Zeisiger/ Anno 17

*Gründlicher Unterricht | Von den | Metallen, | Darinnen beschrieben wird, wie sie | werden in der Erden generirt; und was man | insgemein dabey findet. | In zwey Büchern | Vormals im Spanischen beschrie- | ben durch Albaro Alonso Barba, | Pfarrherr zu St. Bernards Kirchspiel in der | Kaiserlichen Stadt Potosi, in dem Kö- | nigreich Peru, in West-Indien; im | Jahr 1664. | Hernach in das Engländische übersetzt durch Edward, Graff | von Sandwich. Anno 1669. | Und nun um seiner Vortrefflichkeit willen zum | erstenmal ins Hochdeutsche übersetzt, und zum Druck | befördert, durch | G. R. | Dieser Kunst Beflissenen. | Nebst einem neuen Anhang betreffend | Materie. | Ephrata | Gedruckt durch J. Georg Zeisiger, Anno 1763.*[194]

[194] This appendix contains a number of medical and industrial receipts.

It is not known who was the hermetic philosopher "G. R." at whose expense this book was printed. After the year 1763 the name of Zeisiger ceases to appear upon the

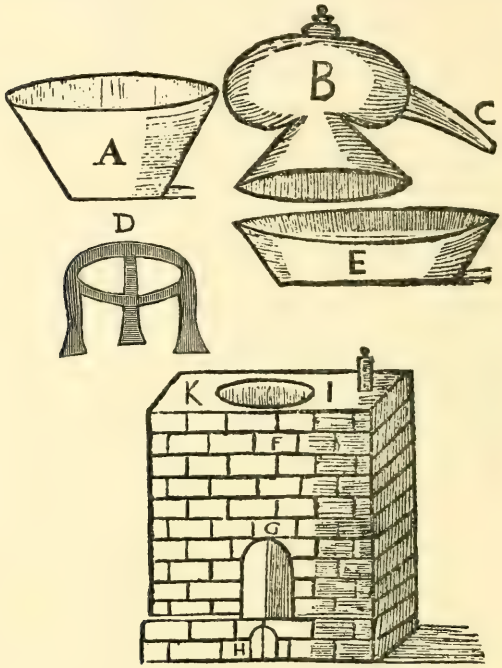



PLATE IN BARBA'S BOOK ON METALS.

*a* Deep dish of iron or copper. *b* Hood of still. *c* Spout. *d* Tripod. *e* Dish water to catch the quicksilver. *f* Oven. *g* Mouth. *h* Opening to draw ashes. *i* Opening. *k* Chimney.

publications. From other entries found in different Ephrata manuscripts it would appear that the Zeisiger family were

members of the congregation, as in the Register we find Eva Rebmanin (Zeisigerin) d. Feb. 8, 1791.

In the same year was printed at Ephrata the Bollinger genealogy. This literary curiosity consisted of two pages, one of which is reproduced in fac-simile. The only known copy is in the collection of Dr. W. H. Egle, of Harrisburg. Upon the first page are mentioned the following members of the Bollinger family:

Daniel Bollinger, b. March 28, 1728.
Magdalena Bollinger, b. December 15–16, 1730.
Anna Bollinger, b. February 14, 1732.
Elizabeth Bollinger, b. March 15, 1734.
Barbara Bollinger, b. January 15–16, 1736.
Christian Bollinger, b. January 1, 1738.

This is undoubtedly the first printed Pennsylvania genealogy.

In the following year, 1764, new patrons of the Ephrata press come upon the scene. These were the German Baptist brethren west of the Susquehanna, in the present Franklin county, which was then commonly known as the Conecocheague Valley. Many Dunkers had settled in this fertile valley, whose relations with the Antietam and Bermudian communities were of a friendly character. Here, as well as in the Shenandoah Valley, the First and Seventh-day Baptists lived side by side without any clashing. It was at the request and cost of the First-day Dunkers that the Brotherhood printed an American edition of the ten books of Abdias' "Apostolic Conflict." It is a 12mo. of 388 pages:

*Von der | Historia | Des | Apostolischen Kampffs, | Zehen Bücher, | Wie sie der Abdias anfänglich in Hebräischer | Sprache beschrieben, Eutropius aber ins Griechische | und Julius Africanus ins Lateinische übersetzt haben. | u. s. w. Vormals in Amsterdam: nun aber in Ephrata ge- | druckt durch die Brüderschafft auf Kosten der | Brüder in Canegotschiken, im Jahr* 1764.

Im Jahr Christi 1741, den 5ten Majus, ist unsere Tochter SOPHIA BOLLINGERN gebohren an der Connestogue. Alt 22 Jahr, 1763.

Im Jahr Christi 1743, im Martius, ist unsere Tochter MARIA BOLLINGERN gebohren an der Connestogue. Alt 20 jahr, 1763.

Im Jahr Christi 1748, den 12ten September, ist HANS RUDOLPH BOLLINGER gebohren an der Cogollico, in Connestogue. Alt 15 Jahr, 1763.====Die Sonne und Mercurius sind seine Planeten.

Im Jahr Christi 1750, den 11ten Februarius, zwischen 7 und 8 Uhr Morgens, ist ABRAHAM BOLLINGER zur Welt gebohren an der Connestogue. Folgende Planeten erschienen in der Geburts-Stunde:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mond in Zwilling, 29. ♊ | Jupiter und Waag, 18. ♎ |
| Sonne in Wasserman, 22. ♒ | Mars und Krebs, 0. ♋ |
| Saturnus und Wasserman, 4. ♒ | Venus und Fische, 18. ♓ |
| | Mercurius und Fische, 4. ♓ |

SPECIMEN PAGE OF THE BOLLINGER GENEALOGY.

The earliest Pennsylvanian genealogy known to have been printed.

At the end appears the following colophon:

*Hæc Apostolorum aliorumque primiævi Christianorem testimonia ego Pet. Miller (alias Frater Jaebez) typis atque consensu Societatis Ephratensis in lucem emisi, omnibus Christiani nominis hominibus, qui has ultimas orbis oras inhabitant ad ædificationem, ut inde discant, quales illos opporteat esse, qui hanc sectantur viam. Anno a partu virginis MDCCLXIV.*

Von der

# Historia

Des

## Apostolischen Kampffs,

Zehen Bücher

Wie sie der Abdias anfänglich in Hebräischer Sprache beschrieben, Eutropius aber ins Griechische, und Julius Africanus ins Lateinische übersetzet haben.

Welchen dann Wolfgangus Lazius aus alten Scribenten auch beygefüget hat

Das Leben des Apostels Matthæi,

und des heiligen Marci/ Clementis/ Cipriani und Apollinaris;

Nunmehro für einige ungeübtere Liebhaber der Wahrheit ins Deutsche übersetzet; Nebst etlichen

Merckwürdigen Reden JESU/ die man zwar nicht in den Evangelien, aber bey andern bewährten Scribenten findet.

Auch der Martel-Geschichte der heiligen und hochberühmten ersten Märtyrin und

Apostolischen Jungfrau Thecla.

Vormals in Amsterdam; nun aber in Ephrata gedruckt durch die Brüderschafft, auf Kosten der Brüder in Canegotshiken. im Jahr 1764.

The same year was printed a German account of the massacre of a number of friendly Indians in Lancaster county by the so-called Paxton boys. This bore no imprint:

*Historische | Nachricht | von dem | neulich in Lancaster County durch unbekante | Personen ausgeführten | Blutbade | über eine | Anzahl Indianer, | welche Freunde dieser Provinz waren. | Mit einigen hinzu gefügten | Anmerkungen. | Aus dem Englishen übersetzt. | Gedruckt im Jahr* 1764.

This was followed by an edition of the "Gospel of Nicodemus the Disciple;" it was an octavo of 52 pages, and is frequently bound together with the previous book.

*Des | Jüngers Nicodemi | Evangelium | von unsers Meisters und | Heylands Jesu Christi Ley- | den und Auferstehung. | Ephrata: | Gedruckt im Jahr MDCCLXIV.*

Des
Jüngers Nicodemi
Evangelium
von unsers Meisters und
Heylands JEsu Christi Leyden und Auferstehung.
EPHRATA:
Gedruckt im Jahr MDCCLXIV.

A
LETTER,
FROM
Batista Angeloni,
Who resided many Years in LONDON
To his Friend
MANZONI.
Wherein the QUAKERS are politically and religiously considered.
To which is added,
The Cloven-Foot discovered.
REM FACIAS—QUOCUNQUE MODO REM.
EPHRATA.
Re-printed, and Sold by Peter Miller, Stone-Keeper, in the County of LANCASTER.

Another issue of the year was an anti-Quaker pamphlet of eight pages. This was printed for outside parties whose identity is unknown:

"A letter from Batista Angeloni, who resided many years in London, to his friend Manzoni, wherein the Quakers are politically and religiously considered. To which is added, 'The Cloven Foot Discovered.' Ephrata."

We know of but a single imprint bearing the date 1765. This was an English version of Beissel's *Wunderschrift:*

"A Dissertation on Man's Fall. Translated from the High-German. [Original seal.] Printed: Ephrata Anno MDCCLXV. Sold at Philadelphia by Messieurs Christoph Marshal and William Dunlop."

The translation was by Prior Jaebez. A full description together with a fac-simile of title will be found in the preceding volume, pages 419–422.

The next year, 1766, brought another large hymn-book. The general title is similar to the folio of 1754. The contents, however, are entirely different. The former one was a book of anthems and choruses, the present one merely an extensive collection of Ephrata hymns, 725 in number. Most of these had already been printed in the Franklin hymn-books of 1730–36, and in the *Turtel Taube* and its appendices.


Paradiſiſches
Wunder-Spiel,
Welches ſich
In dieſen letzten Zeiten und Tagen in denen Abendländiſchen Welt-Theilen, als ein Vorſpiel der neuen Welt hervorgethan:
Beſtehend in einer neuen Sammlung auferbaulicher und zum Lob des Herrn eingerichteter geiſtlicher und erbaulicher zum Theil publicirter Lieder
JEHOVA ALTARIA TUA
BELLICÆ EPHRATENSES
EPHRATÆ: Typis & Cuſtigh. Societatis Ao. D. MDCCLXVI

A preface was added to this collection, written by Prior Jaebez, wherein he touches upon the salient points of the Ephrata theosophy, the organization and peculiar features of the Community and merits of Conrad Beissel.

The *Wunderspiel* is divided into four parts:

(1) Composed of 441 hymns, all written by Beissel; (2) contains 72 hymns, all written by the Brethren except a few taken from Rock and Tersteegen; (3) 100 hymns contributed by the Sisterhood of Saron under the sub-title *Ein angenehmer Geruch der Lilien und Rosen;* (4) 111 hymns chiefly composed by members of the secular congregation.

The imprint upon the title-page informs us that it was printed by the unanimous consent or desire of the Society.

Next in order we have one of the rarest issues of the

THE FAMILY

# PRAYER-BOOK,

CONTAINING

## Morning and Evening

# PRAYERS

For Families and private Perſons.

To which are annexed DIRECTIONS for a devout and decent Behaviour in the publick Worſhip of GOD; more particularly in the Uſe of the COMMON PRAYER appointed by the *Church* of ENGLAND:

Together with the,

## Church-Catechiſm.

Collected and publiſhed chiefly, for the Uſe of the EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONS OF LANCASTER, PEQUEA and CAERNARVON.

---

----- "*I will pray with the* SPIRIT; *and I will pray with the* UNDERSTANDING *alſo*"
1 *Cor.* XIV--15.

---

EPHRATA:

Printed for WILLIAM BARTON MVCCLXVII.

Ephrata press. This was an English prayer-book printed at the instance of Rev. William Barton.

Little seems to have been done upon the presses of the Brotherhood during the year 1768, which in the history of the Community was chiefly noted for the death of Beissel.

On August 29, 1768, Sister Anastasia (Anna Thoma) arranged a love-feast in honor of the departed *Vorsteher;* one of the features of this gathering was the singing of a hymn eulogizing the late Father Friedsam. This was afterwards printed at the expense of the Brotherhood.

*Ein Lob-Lied dem in Gott geehrten Vatter Friedsam zum Andencken abgesungen. Als die ehrwürdige Jungfrau und Schwester Athanasia seinen Hingang aus der Zeit mit einem Liebesmahl beehrte. Geschähen den 29sten August,* 1768.

Christliches
Gemüths = Gespräch
Von dem
Geistlichen und seligmachenden
Glauben,
Und
Erkäntniß der Warheit, so zu
der GOttseligkeit führet in der Hoffnung
des ewigen Lebens/
Tit. 1 v. 1.
In
Frag und Antwort für die ankommende Jugend, wodurch dieselbe zu einer heilsamen
Lebens-Uebung möchte gereitzt
und gebracht werden.
Psalm cxix 9.
Wie mag doch ein Jüngling seinen Weg
baß behüten/ dann in steiffer Haltung
der Gebotten GOttes?
Der Warheit zum Besten.

Ephratæ Typis Societatis Anno MDCCLXIX.

The year 1769 was ushered in by the issue of a Mennonite tract (*Christliches Gemüths-Gespräch*) by Gerhard Roosen,

upon religion and religious institutions, written in the usual colloquial style of the period. It was an octavo of 168 pages.

Following this edition we have a second one in 1770. This was a 12mo. of 248 pages, and was occasionally bound with a second edition of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht* of 1745, which was also a 12mo. of 99 pages. This edition was printed by and at the expense of the Brotherhood.

Christliches
Gemüths-Gespräch
Von dem
Geistlichen und seligmachenden
Glauben,
Und
Erkäntnuß der Warheit,
so zu der Gottseligkeit führet in
der Hoffnung des ewigen
Lebens, Tit. 1, 1.
Ans Licht gegeben
In Frag und Antwort für die ankommende Jugend, wodurch dieselbe zu einer heilsamen Lebens-Uebung möchte gereizt und gebracht werden.
Der Warheit zum Besten/
EPHRATA: Typis Societatis
Anno M D C C L X X.

Die
Ernsthaffte
Christen-Pflicht,
Darinnen
Schöne Geistreiche
Gebäter,
Darmit
Sich fromme Christen-Hertzen zu allen Zeiten und in allen Nöthen trösten können.

EPHRATA,
Drucks'n. Verlags der Brüderschafft
Anno M D C C L X X.

In 1771 Albert Conrad Reben printed at the Kloster, by consent of the Brotherhood, a German Almanac:

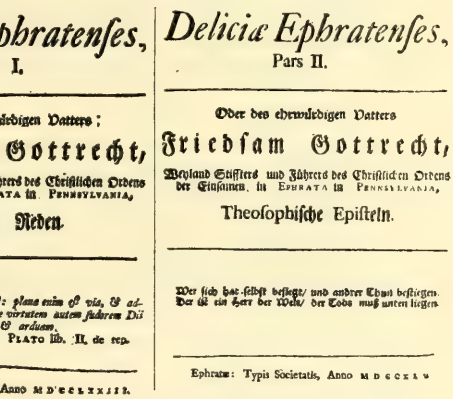
*Der Americanische Calender auf das 1772ste Jahr Christi. Ephrata mit Bewilligung der Brüderschaft gedruckt von Albert Conrad Reben.*

Nothing is known of the identity of this publisher, nor does there appear to have been any subsequent issues.

The only one known for the year 1772 was a broadside, a spiritual hymn printed upon the occasion of Johann Heinrich Otto's suicide; it is a folio of a single page.

In the year 1773 an effort was made to utilize a large number of printed sheets of Beissel's mystical writings then stored in the loft of the Brother House; they were part of the editions of 1745.

When these were first printed they were issued as the *Geistliche Reden* and *Zionitischen Stiffts*, *I Theil*, later as *Hohe Zeugnüsse*. Both of the latter have been fully described in a previous chapter. Of the *Geistliche Reden* only a single copy is known bearing the original title.



*Deliciæ Ephratenſes,*
Pars I.

Oder des ehrwürdigen Vatters;

Friedſam Gottrecht,

Weyland Stiffters und Führers des Chriſtlichen Ordens der Einſamen in Ephrata in Pennsylvania,

Geiſtliche Reden.

*Ad virtutem perveniri facile eſt: plana enim eſt via, & admodum prope habitat. Ante virtutem autem ſudorem Dii poſuerunt, longamque viam & arduam.*
Plato lib. II. de rep.

Ephratæ: Typis Societatis, Anno MDCCLXXII.

*Deliciæ Ephratenſes,*
Pars II.

Oder des ehrwürdigen Vatters

Friedſam Gottrecht,

Weyland Stiffters und Führers des Chriſtlichen Ordens der Einſamen in Ephrata in Pennsylvania,

Theoſophiſche Epiſteln.

Wer ſich ſelbſt beſiegt/ und andrer Thun beſiegen. Der iſt ein Herr der Welt/ der Todes muß unten liegen.

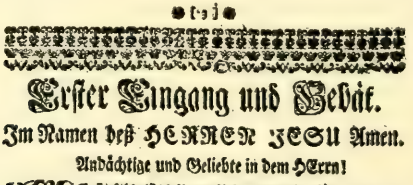
Ephratæ: Typis Societatis, Anno MDCCXLV

In the year 1773 the old titles were suppressed and new ones substituted. The imprint and original date was, however, retained in some, while in others the later date was substituted. From now on the books are known as *Deliciæ Ephratenses*, Pars I and II respectively. A preface of 8 pages was also added to the first part. This was followed by a dissertation by Beissel of 48 pages, while the spiritual talks fill 291 more.

The new titles were prefaced by a page bearing the seal of the Community between the following inscriptions :

*Prodiit in lucem Ephratæ in Comitatu Lancastriensi, anno post partum virginis millesimo septingentesimo septuagesimo tertia.* [Seal.] *Cura & studio fratis Agrippæ, typis atque consensu Societatis.*

[Translation.—It came forth into the light at Ephrata in the County of Lancaster in the 1773d year after the child-bearing of the Virgin. By the care and study of Brother Agrippæ with the types and consent of the Society. ]



Erſter Eingang und Gebät.

Im Namen deß HERREN JESU Amen.

Andächtige und Geliebte in dem HErrn!

Erckwürdig iſt die Beweg-Red/ darmit ehmal der Prophet Hoſeas ſeine Vermahnung an das Volck Iſrael/ zur Verbeſſerung ihres Lebens und Weſens unterſchides hat/ ſagende: Darum es iſt Zeit den HErrn zuſuchen. Hoſ. 10, 12.

Obgleich nun J. überhaupt keine Zeit iſt/ da man den HErren nicht ſuchen ſolle; ſo gibt es doch allerdings auch gewiſſe beſondere Zeit- Umſtände/ darinn es vor anderen Zeiten aus Noth thut den HErren zuſuchen/ und ſich zu Ihme zubekehren/ wann man anderſt den HErren noch finden und ſeiner Gnade theilhaftig werden will. Wann nemlich der HErr ein Volck mit ſeinen theuren Wohlthaten lange Zeit überhäuffet/ die Menſchen aber den Reichthum der Güte GOttes verachten

Heading of a Lutheran Sermon, Printed at Ephrath, 1754.

Only known copy in the Pennypacker collection.

It is this note and date of the preface which has caused all writers and compilers to assume that the *Deliciæ Ephratenses* was published in 1773. A comparison, however, with the titles above quoted will show the correctness of the present writer's position. Moreover the writer has in his library a copy of Pars II, bearing the date 1745.

In the year 1775, Jacob Kimmel, one of the leaders of the Gimsheim awakening in Germany, had printed a

devotional book of 80 pages, 16mo. It bore the imprint *Parthenopolis.*

Inwendige

# Glaubens

und

## Liebes-Uebung

einer Seelen gegen GOtt

und deſſen Gegenwart.

Kurtz und einfältig entworffen und angewieſen

Von und vor eine Seele/ ſo nach Gottes Gegenwart und Vereinigung durch ſeine Gnade iſt begierig worden.

Parthenopolis: Gedruckt Anno 1 7 7 5. ver Jacob Kimmel.

Nothing of importance issued from the press of the Brotherhood during the Revolutionary period. All that is known are two broadsides containing hymns, emanating from and printed in 1776 for the Antietan Congregation:

*Das Raben-Geschrey*, by Andreas Schneeberger; a poem of ten strophes.

*Die Stimme der Turtel Taube*, by Sister Barbara Schneeberger; a poem of eight strophes.

During the years 1777–78, the finances both of the united Colonies as well as of the Province of Pennsylvania were in dire straits, a condition which was augmented during the British occupation of Philadelphia. Votes were passed

by both the Assembly and Continental Congress authorizing the issue of paper currency in enormous amounts.

Thus, March 20, 1777, the State Assembly authorized the issue of £200,000 in bills of credit for the defense of the State.[195] The cuts and plates for these notes were engraved and cast by Michael Schubart. The paper was made at the Wilcox Mill and printed by John Dunlap.[196]

Large as was this sum, it was a mere bagatelle in comparison with the $25,000,000 authorized by Congress between[197] May 20, 1777, and January, 1779. The contract for printing these bills was given to Hall & Sellers and taxed the facilities of the different country presses to the utmost. It is here where the tradition comes in that a large number of sheets[198] were printed upon the Kloster presses at Ephrata, upon paper specially made at the Ephrata mills.[199] This was said to have been of a bluish hue. The specimens here shown are of this kind. The old tradition connecting the issues of Continental currency and the Ephrata press during the years 1777–78 is undoubtedly based upon fact.

The first issue after the war was over was a broadside. It was a eulogy in memory of Sister Melania, who died in in the Sister House, September 11, 1784.

*Ein Denckmahl aufgerichtet zum heiligen Andencken der H. Jungfrau und Schwester Melania in Saron, als sie den 11ten September*, 1784. *Ein Erbauliches Liebesmahl for die gemeinshafft gehalten.*

The only known imprint of the Ephrata press for the year 1785 was a third edition of the *Ernsthafte Christenpflicht.* It was a 12mo. of 199 pages.

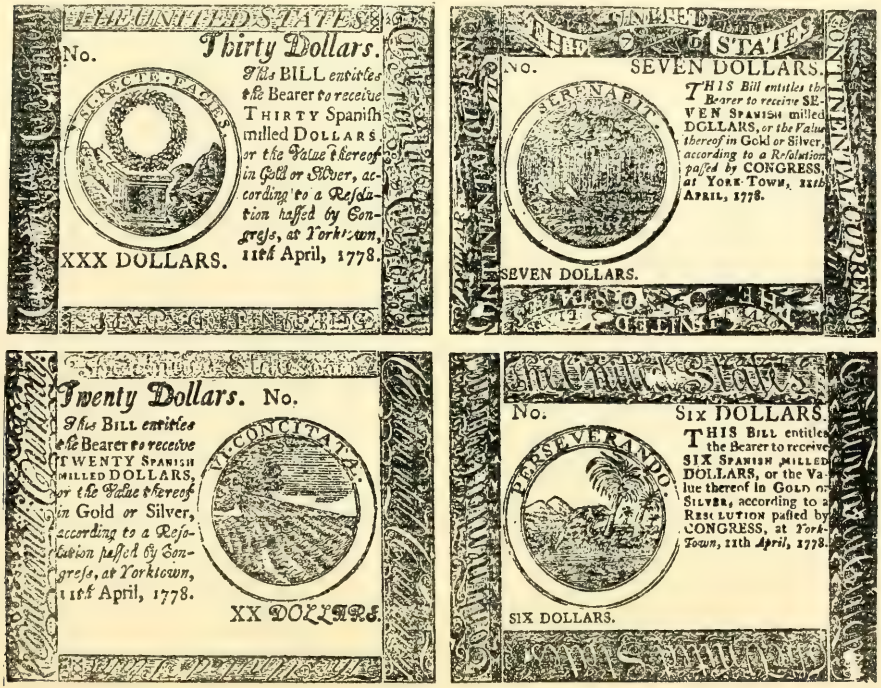
[195] Journals of the Assembly, p. 131.

[196] *Ibid*, p. 208.

[197] Journal of Congress, vols. iii and iv.

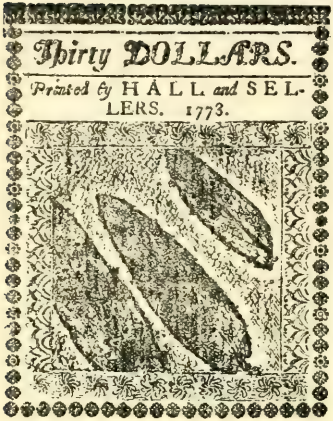
[198] Each sheet contained eight notes, one each of the following denominations: four, five, six, seven, eight, twenty, thirty, and forty dollars.

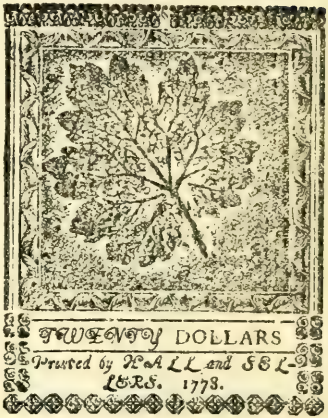
[199] Taken out of circulation by act of Congress January 2, 1779, on account of all denominations having been counterfeited: Journal of Congress, vol. v, p. 7.




CONTINENTAL CURRENCY PRINTED AT EPHRATA.

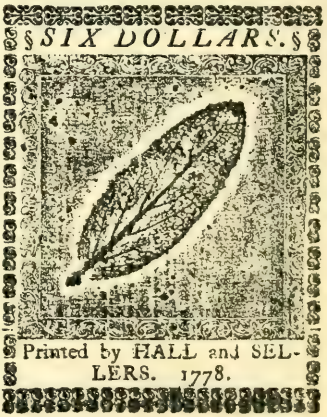
Fac-simile of half of an uncut sheet.










REVERSE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

In the next year, 1786, an attempt was made to again infuse more or less life into the Ephrata printing office. This was now taken in charge by Prior Jaebez and Brother Obed. One of the issues was the well-known *Chronicon*

Chronicon Ephratenſe,

Enthaltend den Lebens-Lauf des ehrwürdigen Vaters in Chriſto

**Friedſam Gottrecht,**

Weyland Stiffters und Vorſtehers des geiſtl. Ordens der Einſamen in Ephrata in der Grafſchaft Lancaſter in PENNSYLVANIA.

Zuſamen getragen von Br. Lamech u. Agrippa.

Er iſt wie das Feuer eines Goldſchmieds, und wie die Seiffe der Wäſcher: Er wird die Kinder Levi reinigen wie Gold und Silber. Malach. 3, 2. 3.

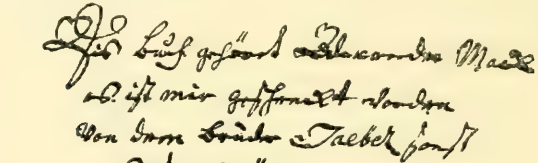
Es iſt die Zeit, daß anfahe das Gericht am Hauße Gottes, ſo aber zuerſt an uns, was will vor ein Ende werden mit denen, die dem Evangelio Gottes nicht glauben. Und ſo der Gerechte kümmerlich erhalten wird, wie will der Gottloſe und Sünder erſcheinen 1. Petr. 4, 17. 18.




EPHRATA: Gedruckt Anno M D C C L X X X V I.

*Ephratense*, which next to *des Blutigen Shau-Platzes* or *Martyrer Spiegel* was the most important issue of the Ephrata press.

This book has thus far been the principal source of information relative to the history of our Mystic Community on the Cocalico. It was in fact, however, a mere abstract of the Diary of the Brotherhood which had been kept by Brother Lamech, who died in 1763. Such parts as were printed by Prior Jaebez were intended as a eulogy to the late founder and superintendent, Conrad Beissel. Jaebez evidently succeeded Lamech as the diarist, consequently both he and Lamech appear upon the title-page as the compilers, Prior Jaebez using the Latin equivalent *Agrippa* for his Kloster name.



Endorsement on Fly Leaf of Alexander Mack's Copy of Chronicon Ephratense.

Original in Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The compilation of this book was commenced a few years after the death of Father Friedsam, the intention being to issue simultaneously both a German and English version. When the German version was finished a clean transcript was made, and translated into English by Prior Jaebez. This was completed just prior to the invasion of Pennsylvania by the British in 1777, when the English MS. was taken by Jaebez and Obed personally to their Philadelphia correspondent, Christopher Marshall, who was then sojourning in Lancaster city, with the request that he revise the

English version. Christopher Marshall thus notes the incident in his diary:

"August 15, 1777. To writing, being engaged at times for this week past in correcting the Annals of the Brethren of Ephrata, left with me by Peter Miller and Obed when here to visit me."

"August 21, 1777. This afternoon I finished my correcting of the manuscripts, or History of the Brethren of Ephrata, containg four hundred and eighty-eight quarto pages."

"December 27, 1777. I spent the evening at home examining part of [the] History of Ephrata brought me by Peter Miller for my inspection and correction."

The seizure of the buildings for hospital purposes and the troubles incident to the Revolution evidently prevented the printing of the *Chronicon* at that time.

When finally, after peace was declared, a renewed effort was made to publish the book. However, the German version alone was printed. It was a quarto of 450 pages. It would be interesting to know what became of the English manuscript as corrected by Christopher Marshall. As some of Marshall's books and papers are said to be still in existence, there is a bare possibility that this literary curiosity might yet at some future day be brought to light.[200]

Another fact that strengthens the above statement that the *Chronicon* was compiled before the Revolution is shown by the fact that no mention is made of Revolutionary incidents except in a mere foot-note.[201]

Three other issues attract our attention for this year. The first, an octavo of 44 pages, was a translation of an English pamphlet upon the condition of the Indians:

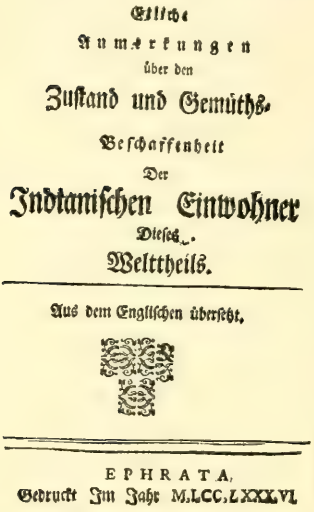
*Etliche | Anmerkungen | über den | Zustand und Gemüths- | Beschaffenheit | Der | Indianischen Einwohner |*

[200] An English translation of the *Chronicon*, by Rev. J. Mark Hart, was published in Lancaster, 1790.

[201] Vide p. 240 *supra*.

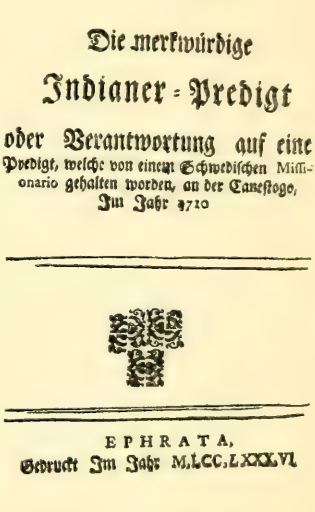
*Dieses | Welttheils. | Aus dem Englischen übersetzt. | Ephrata. | Gedruckt Im Jahr MDCCLXXXVI.*

This was followed by another (*Die merkwürdige | Indianer-Predigt*, etc.), alleged to be an Indian's reply to a sermon preached by a Swedish missionary in 1710 on the Conestoga. The missionary here alluded to was Rev. Jonas Auren, who came over with Björk and Rudman in 1697, and embraced the Seventh-Day doctrine.[202]


Etliche
Anmerkungen
über den
Zustand und Gemüths-
Beschaffenheit
Der
Indianischen Einwohner
Dieses
Welttheils.

Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.

EPHRATA,
Gedruckt Im Jahr M.LCC.LXXXVI.


Die merkwürdige
Indianer-Predigt
oder Verantwortung auf eine
Predigt, welche von einem Schwedischen Missionario gehalten worden, an der Canestoge,
Im Jahr 1710

EPHRATA,
Gedruckt Im Jahr M.LCC.LXXXVI.

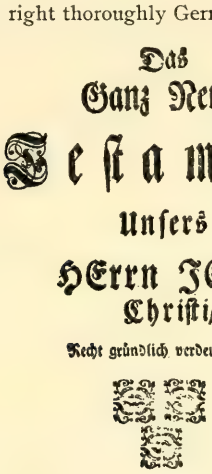
The remaining issue of the Ephrata press for this year was a second edition of Obed's Ephrata school-book, *Kurtz gefasste | Nützliches | Schul-Büchlein.* A full description with fac-simile of title-page will be found upon pages 306–7 of this volume.

[202] See *German Pietists*, 127–8.

The next year, 1787, is noted for the issue of another unique publication,—

*Das | Ganz Neue | Testament | Unsers | Herrn Jesu | Christi, | Recht gründlich verdeutschet. | Ephrata in Pennsylvanien. | Anno* 1787.

[Translation.—The entire New Testament (of) our Lord Jesus Christ, right thoroughly Germanized, Anno 1787.]


Das
Ganz Neue
Testament
Unsers
Herrn Jesu
Christi,
Recht gründlich verdeutschet.
Ephrata in Pennsylvanien.
Anno, 1787.

This was not the standard translation of Luther, but a more modern version. It is said to have been an American 12mo. edition of Griesbach's new version "of the entire New Testament," published in Halle, 1774.[203]

[203] The writer has not been able to verify this statement, but is satisfied of its correctness.

It consisted of 192 pages. This includes an appendix of four devout hymns.

To counteract the inflence of this version, Michael Billmeyer, of Germantown, printed during the same year an edition of the standard Luther translation—it was also a 12mo.

About this time a book or pamphlet was issued under the title *Der Widerlegten Wiedertaüffer* (The Refuted Anabaptist). It is not known where this was printed, as no copy is available; in the year 1788 an appendix to this was printed at Ephrata:

*Anhang zum Widerlegten Wiedertaüffer.* | *Das Vergnügte Leben eines Einsamen, Namens Jorgel.* | *Gluckselig ist der Mann* | *Der so wie Jorgel leben kan.*

APOLOGIE;

Oder schriftmäßige Verantwortung
Etlicher Wahrheiten.

Herausgefordert durch eine neulich aufgesetzte Schrift unter dem Namen

Der

Widerlegte Wiedertäufer,

In einem Gespräch

Geschrieben für den Gemeinen Mann.

Es wird das ganze Gespräch von Wort zu Wort in diesen Blättern mitgetheilet, und die

Apologie

Zur Verantwortung

Der beleidigten Wahrheit,

Darzu gesetzt, durch

Theophilum.

Ephrata,
Gedruckt, auf kosten der Brüder, im Jahr 1788.

It also brought out a work of 72 pages, 8vo., by Alexander Mack, son of the Patriarch, and formerly Brother Timotheus.

[Translation.—Apology or scriptural vindication of divers truths challenged by a lately issued writing under the name of the Refuted Anabaptists, written for the common man by Theophilum.]

This was also printed upon the Ephrata press. Mack, who was now the presiding elder of the Dunker Church at Germantown, and who was so intimately connected with the press of Christopher Sauer (2), now, in his old age, was obliged to return to his former associates of the Klos-

ter to have printed his defence of the Dunker doctrines and rites as scriptural. This was done at the expense of the Germantown Congregation.

The next to attract our notice is another small book of mystical import. It is somewhat similar to Beissel's dissertations, and, according to the preface, was written some eight or ten years before Beissel's death. The general assumption is that it was written by Father Friedsam.

Göttliche

Wunderschrift,

Darinnen entdecket wird, wie aus dem ewigen Guten hat können ein Böses urständen.

Desgleichen,

Wie das Böse wieder in das Gute vergestaltet, und der ewigen Mutter, als die vor den Zeiten des Abfalls das Ruder geführt, in den Schoos geliefert wird.

Da dann alle Amtsverwaltungen, die im Abfall durch den Willen des Manns entstanden, wieder aufgehoben werden.

---

Denen Irrthümern des Naturalismi und Atheismi entgegen gesetzt, und zum Heiligen Nachsinnen den Kindern der Obern Weisheit.

---

EPHRATA,
Gedruckt im Jahr 1789.

In 1790 we have a curious story by a Lutheran pastor in Maryland, about a man who entered into a compact with Satan.

*Merkwürdige | Geschichte, | Von | Einem Menschen, der mit dem | Teufel in einem Bund getreten auf achtzehen | Jahr, und wieder durch Christum erlöset | worden ist.* |

*Nebst-einer Schutzschrift über die Lästerung dieses | Werks, und kurze Anmerkungen, durch Sprü- | che der H. Schrift. | Herausgegeben von | Johann Georg Schrœder, D.D. | und | Evangelisch-Lutherischer Prediger in Maryland | Ephrata, gedruckt im Jahr 1790.*

Merkwürdige

Geſchichte,

Von

Einem Menſchen, der mit dem Teufel in einen Bund getreten auf achtzehen Jahr, und wieder durch Chriſtum erlöſet worden iſt.

Nebſt einer Schutzſchrift über die Läſterung dieſes Werks, und kurze Anmerkungen, durch Sprüche der H. Schrift.

---

Herausgegeben von

Johann Georg Schrœder, D. D.

und

Evangeliſch-Lutheriſcher Prediger in Maryland

---

Ephrata, gedruckt im Jahr 1790.

We have also an edition of the Ephrata *Kurtzgefasztes Arzney-Büchlein für Menschen und Vieh, darinnen CXXX auserlesene recepten.* 16mo., 24 pp. [A doctor-book for man and beast.] A second edition appeared during the next year, 1791.

There was also issued a 16mo. of 55 pages. This was a

sectarian publication. As the title says, "It was not to be sold but given away."

Der bußfertige

**Beicht-Vater**

und

**Seel-Sorger,**

# Maron,

Prieſter in der groſen Stadt Babel,

Wie er zur Erkenntniß ſeiner Sünde kommen, und dieſelbe bereuet:

Denen verführten Beicht-kindern zur Warnung, und allen unbußfertigen Predigern zum Exempel vorgeſtellet, von

*C. A.* Ein um der Wahrheit willen Vertriebener.

(Nicht zu verkaufen, ſondern zu verſchenken.)

Ephrata, gedruckt auf Koſten der Liebhaber. 1791.

Chriſtliche

# Bibliothek,

Enthält

Dasjenige was allen Pilgern auf der Reiſe nach der verlornen Herrlichkeit zu wiſſen nöthig iſt.

Herausgegeben, durch deinen

Getreuen Aufrichtigen Mitbruder.

Ephrata,

Gedruckt im Jahr M,DCC XCII.

In the year 1792 we have George Adam Martin's *Christliche Bibliothek* (Christian Library), an octavo of 148 pages. The initials of the three last words upon the title are those of the author's name.

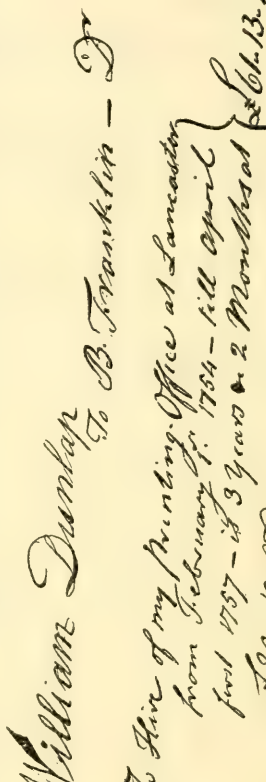
During the year the following books were printed at Ephrata:

*C. A. Romeling's | gewesenen Predigers zu Haarburg, | Nachricht | Seiner von Gott geschenen | völligen | Heraüsführung | aus Babel. | Wie auch | Treuherzige Erweckungs-Stimme | zum | Ausgang aus Babel, | Deme angehangt ein*

—*Theosophischer Entwurf von denen zwey | Erz-Ketzern, Vernunft und Eigenliebe, | und | G. Arnold's Heilsame Wahrnehmung | jetziger Zeiten, wie auch ein Stück aus | G. T. Steegens von der Mystik und ein | Tractat vom innern Leben und der reinen | Liebe Gottes. | Ephrata, gedruckt im Jahr* 1792.

*Vom | Christlichen | Gebrauch | der | lieder | und des | Singens | Coloss iii. 16 | Singet und Spielet dem Herrn in eurem | Herzen | Herausgegeben von G. T. Steegen | Ephrata gedruckt im Jahr* 1792.

*Merkwürdige | Prophezeyung | eines | Einsiedlers | Welcher | XV Jahre allein in der Wüsten | Gewohnet. Endeckt von Dr. Peter Schneider | Gedruckt für den Verfasser.*[204]




FAC-SIMILE OF FRANKLIN'S BILL TO WILLIAM DUNLAP.

*Vide* page 446.

With the year 1793 we practically come to the close of the Kloster Press of the Ephrata Brotherhood, as a part of the Ephrata printing outfit was leased to Solomon & Benjamin Mayer, who

[204] Balance of title defective.

appear to have been practical printers. The Mayers were in charge of the Ephrata establishment until the close of the century, and appear to have changed their imprint every two years. Thus Solomon Mayer appears upon the titles of 1793, 1794 and 1795, Benjamin's upon those of 1796 and 1797, then comes Solomon again for 1798 and 1799.

Occasional broadsides were, however, still printed by the old Brethren of the Kloster. Two specimens in the collection of the writer are entitled:

*Abgesungen | auf Pfingsten an der Antittum; bey der Ehrwürdigen Schwester | Elizabeth Knepper ihrem Liebesmahl.* It is a hymn of six stanzas.

Another one of the same period is a hymn called *Ein Schön Geistlich Lied.*

---

*Wurde abgesungen den 31sten August, 1793 bey B. A. S. auf dem jährlichen Fest an der Antitum.*

The three other issues of this year must be credited to Solomon Maÿer:

*Der | Psalter | des | Königs | und | Propheten Davids, | verteuscht von | Dr. Martin Luther. | Mit Kurzen Summarien oder Inhalt | jedes Psalmen; | und berichtigten | Parallelen oder gleichen Schrifft- | Stellen | Ephrata, gedruckt in Jahr* 1793. [A crude engraving faces title.] *Zu finden bey Solomon Mayer.*

---

*Anonimus | Travels | throu Europe to America and some Visions | of many Heavenly Mansions | in the | house of God. | John xiv, 2. | Ephrata, printed in the year* 1793.

---

*James Bolton's Treatise | of the Universal Restoration. | Preached and commanded | To be Preached | by Jesus Christ. | Ephrata, Printed in the year* 1793.

We know of but two issues for the year 1794:

*Frage | Die | Salbung | Ephrata | in der Neuen Buchdruckerey zu finden | bey Solomon Mayer |* 1794.

---

*Merkwürdige Prophezeyung* (3d edition).

---

The next year appears to have been a more active one, as we have several large and important issues:

*Das Kleine | Davidische | Psalterspiel | der | Kinder Zion's | Von Alten und Neuen Auserlesenen | Geistes | Gesänge | * * * | Ephrata In der Neuen Buchdruckerey bey Solomon Mayer |* 1795.

---

*Das Allerneuste Harfenspiel, etc., Von P. Ely, E. Grosch, etc.*

---

*Daz | Neue Testament | unsers | Herrn und Heilands | Jesu Christi | Nach der deutschen ubersetzung | D. Martin Luther | Erste Auflage | Ephrata gedruckt bey Benjamin Mayer* 1795.

---

*The | cheap and famous Farrier | Ephrata, printed and sold, great al- | lowance by the quantity.* 1795.

---

*Pensylvanischer Calender auf das 1796ste Jahr Christi.*

---

*William Beadles | Lebens beschreibung | nebst der | Ermordung seiner Familie | und Sich selbst | wie auch die Ursachen und Beweisgründe | die er hinterliess sich zu rechtfertigen | Ephrata. Nach gedruckt und in einijer Quan | tität zu haben bei Benjamin Mayer* 1769.

---

*Das fromme Magdelein, oder Elternsegen.*

---

*Gemeinnützige Sammlung|zum Gebrauch|der|Deutschen in Amerika, | Vornehmlich | der | Landleute in Pennsylvanien. | Entered according to law | Ephrata, Gedruckt für dem Herausgeber bey | Benjamin Mayer* 1796.

This book contains a complete account of the network of alleys in the city of Philadelphia.

*Merkwürdige Prophezeyung eines Einsiedlers, etc.* (4th edition.)

---

*Der Weg zum Glück, oder: Das Leben von Dr. Benjamin Franklin beschrieben von ihm selbst.*

This is the first German biography of Franklin. No copy of this is known to the writer.

---

*Pennsylvanischer Calender. Auf das 1797ste Jahr Christi.*

---

*Kurzgefasztes Arzney-Buch für Menschen und Vieh.*

---

*Die Kinder im Walde.*

---

*Der | Psalter | des | Königs | und Propheten Davids. | Verteutscht von | D. Martin Luther | Mit Kurzen Summarien oder Inhalt | jedes Psalme; | und berichtigten | Parallelen oder gleichen Schrift- | stellen | Ephrata 1797. Plate zu finden bey Solomon Mayer.*

This is evidently the same as the issue of 1793, with a new title-page.

*Merkwürdige Prophezeyung eines Einsiedlers.* (5th edition.)

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*Pennsylvanischer Calendar. Auf das 1798ste Jahr Christi.*

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In the last year of the eighteenth century the historic printing plant of the Ephrata Brotherhood passed into the hands of Johannes Bauman. The first known issue of his press was a small 16mo. of 32 pages. This curious booklet purports to be a conversation or argument regarding the

Sabbath, between a Dunker, Rogerine, Roman Catholic and Episcopalian, wherein it quotes a letter written by Washington to the Baptists.

Ein

# Gespräch,

Betreffend des Sabbaths,

Zwischen

Einem Täufer, Rogerene, Römischer

Catholic und Kirchen-mann.

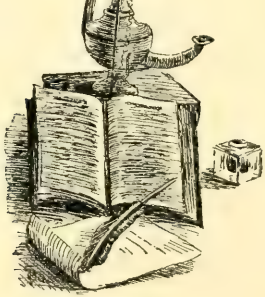
Nebst einem Gerichtlichen verhör.

Aus dem Englischen übersetzt.

Ephrata: gedruckt bey , Baumann.

1800.

A fac-simile of the title is here presented, with which we will close our chapter upon the Ephrata Press.





THE OLD GOD'S ACRE AT EPHRATA.

PHOTO. BY JULIUS F. SACHSE.



## CHAPTER XXII.

"THE EPHRATA REGISTER: NAMES OF SUCH AS IN THE LORD FELL ASLEEP."

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Anno 1728.

Landert, ———, wife of *Bro. Sealthiel* (Sigmund Landert).
Beller, ———, daughter of Peter Beller.[205]

Anno 1729.

Eckerlin, ———, widow of Michael Eckerlin and mother of Brothers *Elimelech*, *Jephune*, *Onesimus* and *Jotham*.[206]

Anno 1733.

Lässle, Jacob; died February.
Eckerlin, Catharina, wife of Samuel Eckerlin (*Jephune.*)
Traut, Henry, January 4; died at Germantown.

Anno 1734.

Lässle (Lessle), Peter (senior); died of consumption March 31. (April 11.)
Walter, Caspar, died in autumn, of grief caused by Beissel leaving the congregation.[207]
Meÿle (Meylisin), Sister *Anna.*

Anno 1735.

Landert, ———, second wife of Brother *Sealthiel* (Sigmund Landert).

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[205] *Vide* vol. i, p. 139.
[206] *Vide* vol. ii, chap. ix.
[207] *Vide* vol. i, p. 217.

Steinsin (Stein), Maria, wife of Heinrich Steinsin (Steinzin).
Kiessner, Brother *Philip.*

Anno 1736.

Beller, ———, second daughter of Peter Beller.

Anno 1737.

Schüle (Schühly, Schulie), Hans Michael.[208]
Debahe (Dubois, Duboy, Dibo), ———, wife of Conrad.
Eicher, ———, the old Sister (wife of *Daniel*), evidently the mother of Daniel Eicher (d. 1773) and grandmother of the Prioress *Maria.*

Anno 1738.

Bremmer, Martin (Brother *Martin*). A single Brother, one of the first in Ephrata. The community tailor. Died 1mo. 3d. 1738. The first death among the Solitary.[209]

Anno 1739.

———, ———, mother of Sister *Migtonia.*
Blum, ———, wife of Ludwig Blum, singing-master at Ephrata.[210]
German, ———, the old Brother.
Thoma (Thomen, Toma, *Thomman*, in Swiss documents), Johannes (Hans), Jacob, from Viedendorf, Switzerland.[211]
Zittel, Brother *Philip.*
Schuh, ———, wife of Ulrich Schuh.

Anno 1740.

———, ———, wife of Brother *Jonadab.*
———, Louisa (Lowies), daughter of Brother *Jonadab;* they were French people (Huguenots).

[208] *Vide* p. 382.
[209] *Vide* vol. i, p. 350 *et seq.*
[210] *Vide* vol. ii, p. 137.
[211] *Vide* vol. i, p. 260.

Wengerin, Elizabeth.

Witt, ———, Brother *Wilhelmus.* "He was a very quiet and reserved person, who fell asleep in the Lord."

Anno 1741.

Böhler, Sister *Esther.*[212]

Walter (Walltherin), Sister *Anna.*

Wohlfarth, Michael, Brother *Agonius;* died May 20, 1741, aged 54 years, 5 months. (Der in Gottgeehrter, und Vorsteher in der gemeinschafft, entschlief den 20 May seines alters 54 Jahr u. 5 Monath. Namens Bruder Agonius, original MS.).[213]

Jacobs (Schacks), ———, mother of John Jacobs.

Jüghtly (Jüchlie), Benedict. Brother *Benedict* (died in November).

Weiser, Anna, *Magdalena* (Madlina); (b. January 13, 1725), d. March 16, 1741–42, a daughter of Conrad Weiser (Brother *Enoch*).

Anno 1742.

Thoma (Tomasin), Sister *Catharina.* "Which was forgotten; she was a loving soul (and) had in Switzerland much persecution experienced for God's sake. She did not long in this Society dwell; her age was 40 years."

Levy (Levi, Lewie), the young brother. "Did also in the Lord fall asleep."

Jonadab, Brother. A French Huguenot and member of the Zionitic Brotherhood.

Weydner (Weydnerin), ———, widow.

Thoma, ———, wife of Theodore (Dores, Durst) Thommna.

Anno 1744.

Höhn, Henrich.[114]

Heidt, ———, Sister *Bernice.* "She was one of the four

[212] Cf. p. 382–3.

[213] For full history of this evangelist see vol. i, *German Sectarians.*

[114] *Vide* vol. i.

first Sisters who at Ephrata lived together, and fell asleep in the Lord, the 30th January, her age 32 years. She was a peculiar soul, in virginlike life. She was the old Brother Leonhart Heit's daughter."

(A beautiful girl, who lived with her parents at Oley. After a visit from the Solitary Brethren to her father's house, she followed them to Ephrata without the knowledge of her parents or the young man to whom she was betrothed, took the vows of eternal virginity, and joined the Sisters in Kedar. She died of consumption, and was buried at night by torchlight with much ceremony.)

Hartman (Hardmann), Caspar.

Lässle [Läsleÿ, Lehle (sic)], David, Brother *Isaiah.* "In the year 1738 towards Ephrata came: In the year 1742 came the Herrn-Hutter here, into these parts—he permitted himself to be prejudiced by them, and they took him away, yet in the same year, to Herrn-Haag; and in the year 1744 took he his journey again to this land. As he, however, on the ocean was, became he sick, what was there to be done, the anguish of his heart was so great that he thus daily exclaimed: O Ephrata! Ephrata! you lovely Ephrata! O my dear Mother! and my beloved Sister! In such misery did he die, and so was the ocean his grave. His age did he bring up to 29 years, 6 months. (Brother Isaiah was one of the original "Zionitische Brüderschaft." Died in autumn.

Germann (Germannin), Sister ———.

Fahnestock, ———, Sister *Armella*, daughter of Laborius Fahnestock, of Westphalia, Germany, died October 23rd, age 31 years. "Fell asleep in the Lord the 23rd (of) October, her age 32 years. She was a near relative (sister) with the old Brother Diettrig Fahnestuck.[215]

[215] *Vide* vol. i, p. 372 *et seq.*

Erlenwein, Andreas. Brother *Andreas.*

Anno 1745.

Thoma, Jacob. Brother ———. "Did in the Lord fall asleep, 1745; was already in the Schweitz awakened."

Schreit (Schreid), Engelbert, also written Engelbertschreid.

Anno 1746.

Funk, Sister *Magdalena:* died January 14, 1745–46, mother of Brother *Obadiah* (Samuel Funck), aged 55 years, 10 months.

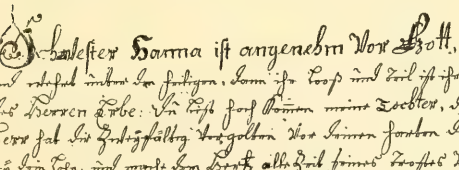
Mellinger, Christoph.

Gehr, ——— Sister *Rebecca*, wife of Peter Gehr, whom she left to enter the Kloster. "In the Lord fell asleep the 30th (of) May; her age was 34 years and 5 months. She was formerly the Brother Peter Gehr, his wife."

Gochnauer, Maria.

Rebmann, Brother.

Miller, Hanna. (Sister *Hannah*), daughter of Johannes Miller.



Anno 1747.

Ittisin, Ursula.

Meierin (Meier), ——— Sister *Migdonia.*

Zinn, Jacob, son of Herman Zinn. "Did in the Lord fall asleep."

Lässle (Lösslin, Löscherin), Catharina; died September 6.
Bender (Bänder), Eissbert.
Roth, Anna, daughter of George Roth.
Lässle, ———, Sister *Rosa*. "On the 13th of December in the Lord fell asleep; her age 19 years, 7 months. She was the youngest daughter of Peter Lässle, Sr., and sister to *Phœbe* (Föben.) She entered the Sisterhood in Kedar as soon as she attained her eighteenth year, and died shortly after her time of probation was over."

Anno 1748.

Kalcklösser (Kalkgläser), Johann Heinrich. "On the 29th day of the 12th month of the year 1748 is the beloved, venerable Brother Johann Heinrich Kalkgläser gone out of this time in the evening in the 12th hour, aged 70 years." [116]

"Johann Heinrich Kalckgläser was one of the important brethren in the Community. He originally settled in Germantown, but came to Ephrata at an early day, and became one of the Zionitic Brotherhood."

Anno 1748.

Heidt (Heidin), Barbara.
Derborough (Dobere, Durborow), John, an English (Welsh) convert from Nantmill, Chester county.[217]
Miller (Müllerin), Clara, wife of Heinrich Miller.
Jäger (Jägerin), Margaretha.
Eicher, Anna, Sister *Anna*, eldest daughter of Daniel Eicher. sister to the Prioress. One of the first two maidens who followed Beissel into seclusion on the Cocalico. "Died on the 13th day, 12th month, 1748, in the morning hour, She entered into Matrimony shortly before she died." [218]

[216] MS. *Chron.*, p. 892.
[217] *Vide Chronicon Ephratense*, 197; also vol. ii, chap. xi.
[218] MS. *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 900.

Bucher, Peter, Brother *Joel.* "Did in the Lord fall asleep 1748; his age was 52 years. He led, in his doings and Life, a lowly, retired, fervent Course of Life; what he experienced gave he never unto Day—his death was also as if he only his outer shell had Cast off." Upon the 11th day, 12th month, 1748, in sixth hour of the night, Brother Joel went to sleep. He always had an impression that he was to be a Martyr." [219]

Pettikoffer, Anna Elizabeth, wife of Johannes Pettikoffer.[220]

Amalia, Sister.

Wägely (Wägele), Michael.

Schuh, ———, wife of Jacob Schuh.

Gorgas (Gorgasin), Sophia.

Graff, Christian.

Beller, ———, wife of Peter Beller.

Höhnly, Jacob, Brother *Ephraim.*

Stattler, Barbara, mother of Sisters *Theresia*, *Zenobia* and *Sincletica.*

Klopf, ———, Sister *Tecla* (Thekla), daughter of Peter Klopf. "On the 6th (of) October, in the Lord fell asleep, her age 30 years, 8 months. She was the aged Brother Peter Klopf his faithful daughter."

(She is credited with composing several hymns in the *Turtel Taube*).

Heÿpel (Heuppel), Paul.

Kohl (Kohlin), old sister.

Anno 1748.

Höffle, ———, Sister *Drusiana*, youngest daughter of Peter Höffle. "On the 7th (of) December in the Lord fell asleep, her age (was) 28 years, 11 months. She was the aged Brother Peter Höffle his youngest daughter.

(Came to Ephrata from Falkner's Swamp after the re-

[219] MS. *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 897.

[220] *Vide* vol. i, p. 281.

vival in 1734, and was only fifteen years of age when she joined the Sisterhood).

In Lamech's original MS. Diary there was at this point a note stating that up to this time 70 members had died, viz., 27 brothers and 43 sisters. They were buried in different places.

Anno 1749.

Thoma (Thommen), Durst (Theodorus).

Nägelÿ, Rudolph, Brother *Zephania.* "On the 29th of January he fell asleep in the Lord, upon a Sabbath evening, during the tenth hour. He was a son of *Jehoiada.*"

Fridlieb (Friedlieb), Caleb.

Graff, ———, Sister *Priscam.* "On the 20th (of) February in the Lord fell asleep; her age (was) 28 years. She was the daughter of the aged Brother Jacob Graff."

(She was the composer of several hymns in the *Turtel Taube*).

———, ———, Sister *Margaretha*, from the Gimsheim awakening.[221]

Gass (Gast), Jacob, Brother *Jethro.* "Fell asleep in the Lord the 1749th year, the 12th October, during the evening of a fifth day, in the twelfth hour. He was awakened already in the Schweitz."

(Jacob Gass was one of the first to join the Community, and one of the three who built the second cabin at Ephrata. He was frequently called into counsel by Beissel. When the Eckerlins were expelled, in 1745, Jethro was installed Prior, but only held the office for a few months, being succeeded by Brother Jaebez. September 5, 1746, he was, however, installed a second time. Three years later he was dismissed from his office, succeeded by Brother Eleazer. His

[221] For a full account of this revival see chapter xii *ibid.*

downfall affected him so greatly that he died October 12, 1749).

Anno 1750.

Hartmann (Hardmännin), Christina.

Hartmann (Hardmännin), Ursula.

Weydebachin ———, Sister *Eunicke*, wife or widow of Philip Hanselman. "On the 24th (of) October in the Lord fell asleep; her age was 70 years. She was once (a) very devout, God-fearing widow, who had already much in Germany suffered."

(She came to the Community together with the wife of Christopher Sauer).

Funck, ———, Sister *Genoveva*, daughter of Martin Funck. "On the 12th (of) August, during the first hour of evening, in the Lord fell asleep. Her age (was) 32 years, 2 months, 10 days."

(Sister to Brother *Obadiah*. She is credited with the authorship of several spiritual hymns).

Stattler, Sister *Theresia*, daughter of old Brother and Barbara Stattler. "On the 2d April in the Lord fell asleep. Her age (was) 30 years."

Anno 1751.

Funck, Henrich. "Died April 17, 1751, aged 30 years, 3 months, 5 days. He left a little son, born in March, aged 1 month, 5 days. His name, Daniel Funck."

Bölsner (Bölner), Michael, from Gimsheim revival.

Margareth (Maria Magdalena in original MS.), a sister from the Gimsheim awakening.

Anno 1752.

Junin, Magdalena, the old sister.

Sauer, Maria Christina, Sister *Marcella*, sub-prioress while in the Kloster; wife of Christopher Saur, the Germantown printer.

"Sister Marcella remained an inmate of the Kloster resisting all appeals to return to her husband at Germantown until the middle of November in the 1744, when she left Ephrata and was induced to return by the pleadings of Brother De Benneville (Dr. George?) The complete reconciliation between husband and wife did not occur until June 20, 1745, when she again took upon herself the household duties. She died December 14, 1752."

Anno 1753.

Kohl, ———, the old brother.

Kimmel, ———, wife of Jacob Kimmel, from Gimsheim. "She died in the neighborhood of the Bermudian, York County."

Traut, ———, Sister *Eufemia*, daughter of Philip Traut. "Fell asleep in the Lord May 3, 1753."

Müller, ———, Sister *Sincletica*, wife of ——— Müller, daughter of Brother and Barbara Stattler. "On the 5th (of) July in the Lord fell asleep, in her age 51 years."

(Maria Stattler, the oldest daughter of Barbara Stattlerin, was one of the first four maidens who pledged themselves to a communal life and took up their residence in Kedar. Sincletica was one of the ruling spirits in the Sisterhood and for years one of the sub-superintendents of the Order.)

Klop, Peter, father of Sister *Tecla*. They were from the Tulpehocken revival.

Hagemann, Wilhelm.

Hagamamim. "Maria, wife of William Hagemann and daughter of Brother Michael Miller. She died eleven weeks after her husband. They were both young and died before their parents.

Anno 1754.

Kemberg (Keimberg, Kemberger), ——— Brother.
Kembergerin, ——— wife of above.
Gass, Elizabeth, wife of Frederich Gass.
Hagemann (Hagaman), Johan Henrich, the old Brother; died April 1, 1754.
Hagemann, Brother *Nehemiah*, eldest son of Johan Henrich Hageman. "Fell asleep in the Lord in the year 1754, the 14 Abriell (April). He was a son from the old Hagemann."
(They originally came from Falkner's Swamp, went to Ephrata in October, 1728. A brother Nathan and sister Catherine also entered the Solitary orders.)
Bauman, Maria (a single sister); died June 11, 1754, aged 28 years.
Hagemann, Magdalena, widow of Johan Henrich Hageman; died July 28, 1754.
Nagelsin (Negele), ——— wife of Rudolph Nagele, Brother *Jehoiada.*
Traut, ———, wife of Philip Traut.
Guth, Henrich.
Löscher, Jacob.

Anno 1755.

Mack, Valentine, son of the Patriarch Alexander Mack. His wife was Sister *Abigail*, a daughter of Johann Hildebrand, and Sister *Constantia* was his daughter.
———, ———, Sister *Julianna.* "On the 1st (of) March in the Lord fell asleep. She but one year before from Deutsch (land) came." (Died in Saron).
Endt, Henrich.
Sprigel (Spriegel), the old brother.
Pearsol, ———, wife of Jeremiah Pearsol; they were from Nantmeal, Chester county.
Bauman, John, the younger.

Anno 1757.

Hildebrand, Maria (?), wife of Johannes Hildebrand.

Landert, Sigmund, Brother *Sealthiel.* "Was a house-father. In the year 1738 journeyed he to Ephrata with all that he possessed, built the Solitary Sisters a chapel, "Kedar," that was its name; at that time had he two daughters; the one gave Ephrata good night about the year 1744. He entered himself also into the poor life and was a faithful follower of *Jesu Christi*, and did in peace fall asleep."

(Sigmund Landert became connected with Beissel as early as 1724. The first love-feast of the Conestoga congregation was held at his house in December, 1724, where Beissel officiated for the first time. His wife died in 1728, being the first recorded death of the congregation. He married again, but became a widower the second time in 1735. He came to Ephrata in 1738, with his two daughters, where he built the prayer-house adjoining Kedar out of his own means).

Miller, Henrich, *der alte bruder.*

Eicher, ———, Sister *Naemy*, youngest daughter of Daniel Eicher. "On the 14th Sep(tember) in the Lord fell asleep, her age 33 years, 3 months."

(She was a sister to *Mutter Maria*, the Prioress of the Sisterhood. She was a member of the Fifth Class of the Sisterhood, and is known to have written several spiritual hymns).

Schäffer, ———, Brother *Elkanah*, son of Joseph Schaffer, "is from this world departed, as one where it quickly takes place, in the year 1757."

Guth (Gut), ———, wife of Samuel Guth.

Schäffer, Joseph, the old father of *Elkanah.* Died September 14.

Senseman, ———, Brother *Japhet.*




BURIAL PLOT ON THE WEISER FARM NEAR WOMELSDORF.

SHOWING THE GRAVES AND TOMBSTONES OF CONRAD WEISER AND ANNA EVE HIS WIFE.

Hagemann, ———, Brother *Nathan.* "Did also from the world separate in the year 1757. He was the aged Hagemann's second son."

(Son of Johann Henrich and Magdalena).

Stattler, ———, Brother *Manoah.* "Was also a house-father, and also in the Lord fell asleep in the outgoing of the year 1757. He was aged 92 years."

Anno 1758.

Mack, Margaretha, Sister *Abigail*, daughter of Johannes Hildebrand and widow of Valantine Mack; died August 11, in the evening.

Sprigel (Sprigelsin), the old sister; died August 31.

Jacobs, Christina (Schacks in Register), wife of John Jacobs; died September 10, 1758. She was a daughter of old Brother *Japhet* (Senseman).

Hageman, Magdalena (the young sister).

Kalcklösser (Kalckgläser), the old sister, widow of Johann Heinrich Kalcklösser.

Beissel, ———, Sister *Eusebia.* "On the 5th Sep(tember) in the Lord fell asleep; her age (was) 36 years. She was a Basel (niece) of the Venerable Superintendent. She was a Beisselsin.

Hürsche (Hirsch), Bentz. (No date in record).

Schuk, Ulrich. (No date in record). "Were forgotten, and I do not know their place."[222]

Anno 1760.

Bauman, Margaretha. December 6. (Entered in Register 1768, in Diary 1760).

Braun, ———, wife of Brother ——— *Braun.*

Weiser, Conrad; July 13. (Formerly Brother *Enoch*); in Register "The friend or Brother *Conrad* Weiser;" in Diary "Brother *Conrad* Weiser ein Justus." He was buried in his orchard near Womelsdorf.

[222] MS. Register.

Anno 1761.

Weiser, Philip; Brother *Theobald;* died March 27; eldest son of Conrad Weiser.

Heyd, Leonhard; died January 25. An old Brother from the Oley revival; he was the father of Sister *Bernice.*

*Pelagia*, Sister; died March 3.

Boldhausen, Catharina; died March 14. (From the Amwell revival).

Schuck, ———, Sister *Persida.* "On the 3rd (of) June (July?) in the eleventh hour of evening in the Lord fell asleep; her age 41 years. She was one daughter of the aged Brother Ulrich Schuck.[223]

———, ———, Sister *Joseba.*" On the 1st (of) December in the Lord fell asleep; her age 42 years, 3 weeks. She was an awakened (one) from Deutschland."

Anno 1763.

Schäbley (Schoppe, Sheppe), Rudolph; died March.

Gehr, Peter; died May 12; baptized at Seckenheim near Heidelberg in the Palatinate.[224]

Koch, Stephen, Brother *Agabus.* "In the Lord fell asleep the 7th of July, in the year 1763. He was already an old warrior of *Jesu Christi*, in Germany, with the Pious, where also my parents were too. He is well, can we say in Peace elevated."

(Stephen Koch first settled at Germantown. After the revival, in 1736, with three others, he retired to a cabin about a mile from Germantown. They came to Ephrata in March of 1739).

Lamech, Brother; June 13, of a sudden death. He was the diarist of the Community, an abstract of which was

[223] Where time is given in these extracts the peculiar Ephrata notation is indicated.

[224] An extended notice of Brother Gehr is found in chap. xviii. *Chronicon Ephratense*, original edition.

published after his death, under the title of *Chronicon Ephratense.* Sangmeister designates him as an "austere and impetuous follower of Beissel. A very uncouth man, who proved a scourge to many, and made many a brother's life a burden. His end was presumably apoplexy, as he was unexpectedly found dead in his *kammer* and his face was black."

Böhler, Catharina, Sister ———. "Fell asleep in the Lord, the 1st (of) March; her age was 29 years, 7 months. She had a very pious mother."

Anno 1763 or 1764.

Ebinet (Inebenet), Hildebrand and his house-mother; died at the Shenandoah settlement.

Anno 1765.

Keller, ———, first wife of Bastien Keller.

Hildebrand, Johannes (the old brother).[225]

Nägely, Rudolph; Brother *Jehoiada* (Jojada).

Klop (Klepin), Magdalena.

Durborow (Derborough, Dober), Dorothea; from the French Creek revival.

Martin, ———, daughter of George Adam Martin (1766 in Register).

Anno 1766.

Senseman, Johannes. Old Brother.

Gorgas, Joseph; Brother *Chrysostomus;* builder of the stone mansion on the Wissahickon, known as the "Monastery."

Morin, Magdalena.

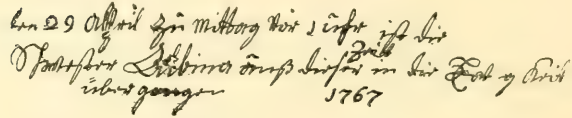
Stit, ———, Catherina.

Anno 1767.

Kimmel, ———, wife of Valentine Kimmel, from Gimsheim revival.

[225] Cf. chapter ii.

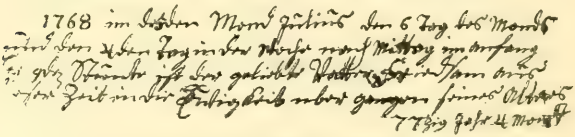
Höcker, Margaretha; Sister *Albina*; wife of Ludwig Höcker (Brother *Obed*). Died April 29th, at noon before one o'clock.



Braun, ———, Brother.
Henrich, Valentin.
Schwartzbachin, ———, Sister.

Anno 1768.

Höffly, Barbara, wife of Peter Höffly; died July 3.



Beissel, Johann Conrad, Brother *Conrad;* Father *Friedsam Gottrecht; Irenici Theodicaci*, founder and *vorsteher* of the Ephrata institution; died July 6, 1768, in the presence of many brethren and sisters, in the morning between 10 and 11 o'clock, when he gently passed away, his age 77 years, 4 months. According to the entry in the Diary of the Sisterhood Father Friedsam "Did in the presence of his spiritual children, as he his farewell made quite gently and quietly in the Lord, fall asleep, in the year 1768, the 6th of July. His age was 77 years, 4 months, 6 days, in the 8th hour [sic] of the day after noon. What his doings and occupation of the spirit, and how much he suffered and laboured, for the Lord's sake, the time of his life, by day and night. He who his writings diligently reads and searches can find in what kind of labour his life passed in the 52 years."

(His funeral was attended by over six hundred mourners. The sermon was preached by Brother *Jaebez* from the text Heb. xiii. 7 and 17, and was followed with addresses by Brothers *Phileomen* and *Obed.*)

Knottel (Knoder), Catharina, daughter of Jacob Knotel, died July 6.

Behr (Baer), Jacob. December 13.

Kimmel, Valentine. December 28.

Anno 1769.

Höhn, Christina; died February 2 (9).

Knepper, Veronica; died April 27.

Steiner, Johannes; of a sudden death, May (18) 28.

Lässle, Valentin.

Jacob, ———, Brother *Simeon;* died August 11.

Pettikoffer (Bätikoffer), Johannes; September 11, from Germantown.[226]

Maÿer, Hänsly (Johannes); Brother *Amaziah* (*Amitsaÿ*); October 14.

Anno 1770.

Owen, John; a Welshman from the French Creek revival.

Höffly, Peter; died March 18. From the Falkner Swamp revival in 1734; father of Sister *Drusiana* and *Basila.*

Merkel (Merklesin, Marcelle), the old sister.

Höffley, Elizabeth, Sister *Basilla.* "On the 9th (of) Novem(ber) in the Lord fell asleep; her age was 48 years, 9 months. She was the aged Brother Peter Höffley, his second daughter."

(A sister in the Fifth Class who composed several hymns in the *Turtel Taube*).

Hartmann, Regina; died October 20.

(This is said to be the Regina Hartman who in her youth was stolen by the Indians, and of whom the well-known story is told of her reunion with her mother by means of the old German hymn,—

Allein, und doch nicht ganz alleine,
Bin ich in Meiner Einsamkeit.)

[226] *Vide* Vol. i, p. 172, 217.

Anno 1771.

Weber, Anna; February 11.

Graff, Marx; the old brother with a wooden leg.

Merkel (Marcele), Martin the younger.

Baumann, ———; the old brother lost his life August 5.

Seÿsinger, ———, Brother.

Keller, Friedrich; November 10, aged 34 years, 10 months. He was a son of the still living Jacob Keller.

Guth, Daniel; November 13.

Anno 1772.

Graff, Maria Ja———; January 19. An old sister.

Seibert (Seifertin), Anna; died May 12; daughter of the old Brother Baumann.

Seysinger, Elizabeth; died August 23.

Rohrer (Rorer), Jacob.

Anno 1773.

Fahnestock, Rebecca (Graff), wife of Johann Fahnestock; died January 17.

Eicher, Daniel, Brother *Daniel;* died February 1.

Theonis, Brother; died March 5, in the evening.

Han (Hann), George, died in the night between the 7th and 8th of March.[227]

Friedrich, Jacob.

Friedrich, ———, mother of Jacob; were forgotten.

Landert, Maria; Sister *Rahel.* "On the 11th Novem(ber) in the Lord fell asleep; her age (was) 48 years, 9 mon(ths); oldest daughter of Sigmund Landert, who built the chapel adjoining Kedar, so that the latter be changed into a Sister Convent, and his two daughters received among their number. The younger daughter soon returned to the world."

Funck, Martin (senior); died April 19, 1773, aged 80 years, 3 months.

[227] *Cf.* pp. 285–7, *ibid.*

Schumacher, Peter. "Did also in the Lord fall asleep the 17th of November in the year 1773. He was a Schweitzer, and did the well-known land piece, above in the Swamp, devise to Ephrata."
(Peter Schumacher was not a Solitary Brother).

Anno 1774.

Höffly, Jacob; died on the New Year. A son of Peter and Barbara Höffly.
Knipper (Knepper), Josua.
Meintzer (Meiser), George.
Roth, Henrich.

Anno 1775.

Fahnestock, Rebecca, wife of Johannes Fahnestock. Born 1715; died January 17, 1775.
Bensin, ———, Sister.
Dübbel (Dübbelsin), Anna Maria (1776 in Register).
Darius, Brother.
Fahnestock, Dietrich. Born February 2, 1696; died October 10, 1775; aged 79 years, 8 mos. From the Amwell revival.

Anno 1776.

Sensemann, Agnes, the old sister; died March 24 (13).
Graff, Jacob; died May 6. An old brother.
Anguas, Mary; Sister *Mariam;* died May 20.
Miller, Johannes; died May 28, 1776. He was an old brother.
Zinn (Zinnen), ———, Sister *Perpetua*, wife of Herman Zinn; died November 10.
Landes (Landis), Barbara; died March 29.
Sensemann, Jacob; died December 23, aged 54 years.

Anno 1777.

Zinn, Hermann, Brother *Macarius;* died March 15; husband of Sister *Perpetua.*

Schneeberg (*Barbara*), the old Sister, wife of Andreas Schneeberg, of Antietam.

Funck, Martin (Jr.), Brother *Manasse;* died October 5, aged 54 years, 9 months.

Bentz (Bens), Johannes

———, Margaretha. The old Sister was a Swiss, known as the "Old Swiss Margaret."

Walter, Caspar (Jr.)

Walter, ———, wife of Caspar Walter; were forgotten.

Anno 1778.

Koch, Johannes.

Huber (Huberin), Anna Maria, wife of Jacob Huber; died January 19.

Melinger, Gertraut, widow of Stophel (Christoph) Melinger; died February 3.

Miller, Henrich, the tavern-keeper; born May 12, 1728; died January 12, 1778, from disease contracted while serving milk to the sick soldiers in Zion Convent.

Kirmmel, Adam; died January 27.

Anguas, James; died March 4, 1778, of camp fever contracted while nursing sick soliders.

Baer, ———, wife of Johann Baer; died March 20, of camp fever.

Baer, Johann; died April 15, 1778, of disease contracted at the hospital. He was a Mennonite preacher.

Gass, Friederich; died October 28; was an old Brother.

Anno 1779.

Landis, Anna; died February 17.

Funk, Samuel, Brother *Obadiah;* died December 7, 1779, at the age of 60 years, 9 months. "He was a genius (*Künstler*), lived a long time at Ephrata; but it happened through certain circumstances that he went to Virginia, where he died, and is buried at Staufferstown." [Strasburg.]

Anno 1780.

Köbel (Kebel), Philip; died January 16.

Hoffman, Henrich.

Müller, Sybilla, wife of Johannes Müller.

Anno 1781.

Eckerlin, Doctor Samuel, Brother *Jephune;* died January 15, 1781. (Not entered in either register or diary.)

Jemini, Brother ———. "In the spring of the year departed in 1781. He was from the Tulpohocken Awakening."

(He was one of the original members of the Zionitic Brotherhood.)

Fahnestock, Elizabeth (Boldhauser), wife of Peter Fahnestock; died July 23.

Fahnestock, Ellen (Lüster), wife of Daniel Fahnestock; died September 22.

Bender, Ludwig.

Bender, ———, wife of Ludwig.

Borwe, ———, Sister.

Anno 1782.

Lohman, ———, wife of Henrich Lohman; died January 21,

Lohman, Henrich; died January 24. "They were both from the Gimsheim revival, and were laid together in one grave." [228]

*Armella*, Sister (second sister of that name); died in the Sisterhouse April 5 (March 30), aged 60 years. She was from the Gimsheim revival.

Boldhauss, Conrad; died January 31.

Henrich, Ann Elizabeth, wife of Velte Henrich.

Mack, Elizabeth, Sister *Constantia*, daughter of Valentin and Maria Mack, granddaughter of Alexander Mack and Johannes Hildebrand; aged 50 years, 3 months. "On the 31st (of) October in the Lord fell asleep."

[228] *Cf.* Chapter xii.

(Elizabeth Mack was a daughter of Margaretha Hildebrand, Sister *Abigail*, one of the four original Sisters who took up their residence in Kedar, but shortly afterwards married Valentine Mack. Some years after she returned to the Sisterhood with her daughter, who became Sister *Constantia*).

Anno 1783.

Meÿle, Jan, Brother *Amos*. "On the 6th of August (he) in the Lord departed, in (the) year 1783. His age was 82 years, he was one among the first in the Community; therefore an Old Warrior *Jesu Christi*."

(Jan Meyle settled first at Germantown. December 25, 1723, he was baptized in the Wissahickon by Peter Becker, and at once became a prominent member in that denomination, but two years later went over to the Sabbatarian congregation. In December of 1728, Brother *Amos* rebaptized Conrad Beissel, who in turn rebaptized Brother *Amos*. He was one of the four brethren who first occupied the *Berg-haus*, from 1735 to 1737, and for a time was the preceptor of Brother *Onesimus* (Israel Eckerlin).[229]

Hardy (Hardie, Heardy), Thomas. Brother *Theodorus*.[230]

Fahnestock, Margaretha (Hertz), widow of Dietrich Fahnestock, died December 29, aged 81 years, 5 months, 1 day. She came from Germany to Amwell, in the Jersies; from there to Cocalico Township, in the county of Lancaster, where she died, and is buried at Ephrata.

Anno 1784.

Guth (Guterin, Kuterin), Elizabeth, an old sister, died March 27.

Höcker, Jonathan (?), Brother *Jonathan*. "In the Lord fell asleep on the 30th of June, in (the) year 1784, his age

[229] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 435, *et seq*.

[230] *Vide* vol, i; p. 435.

Bruder Amos wird nimmer umkomen, sein Gedächtnuß müsse bleiben, sein Nahme werde geschrieben unter die Heiligen. O wie wohl hast du gewählet! daß du geglaubet hast. Deine Vergeltung müsse dir werden von deinem GOtt, und dein Erbe unter den Frommen. Ich weiß kein besser Ding zu suchen auf der Erden, als daß ich möge gantz voll Gottes Liebe werden. Mein Kampff-platz ist Gedult, mein Sieg Gelassenheit: die Langmuth meine Kron, Hoffnung die Seligkeit. Ob ich schon gering auf Erden, und mit mancher Noth umstellt: wird mir doch was bessers werden, dort in jener neuen Welt. Das beste Looß ist mir getroffen, ich leb in Glauben, Lieb und Hoffen, steht sonst was anders mir zur Seit, so ists Gedult und Ledigkeit: Ich kan doch sonsten mit nichts prangen, als bleiben so an GOtt behangen, diß ist mein Ziel in allem Leid, bis ich geh ein zur Seligkeit. Ich weiß nunmehr kein ander Leben, als GOtt in allem seyn ergeben, er weiß am besten aus zu machen, was mir zu thun in meiner Sachen: bleib ich ihm stets anheim gestellt, so wird mir, was ihm wohlgefällt, sonst weiß ich nichts in meinem Leben, als

**Ihm zu bleiben stets ergeben.**

Diese Ehren-Seule ist dem ehrwürdigen Bruder Amos zum heiligen Andencken wegen seiner Treu aufgerichtet worden.

MEMORIAL PILLAR IN MEMORY OF BROTHER AMOS (JAN MEYLE).

was 67 years, 6 months; he was from a preacher family.

(One of the Solitary who left the Community with the Eckerlins in 1745. For a time he became a trapper and hunter, but returned to Ephrata, February 23, 1750, with the old Prior *Onesimus*).

Niess (Niesen, Niessin), Ann Elizabeth (Annalis); died July 25.

Lässle, Christianna; Sister *Phœbe* (*Fœben*). "On the 4th (of) March in the Lord fell asleep, her age 66 years, 6 months. She was the aged Brother Peter Lässle his daughter. She has within 47 years with the Sisterhood dwelled."

(She was one of the first Sisters at Kedar, joining the Order when but nineteen years of age).

Schmit, ———, wife of Balser Schmit.

Riesen, ———, wife of Brother Riesen.

Kimmel, Jacob; died November 25; an old brother from the Gimsheim revival.

Sangmeister, Heinrich, Brother *Ezechial;* born August 9, 1723, in a village near Wolfenbüttel; died December 30, 1784. He was the son of a Lutheran schoolmaster, Stephen Heinrich Sangmeister, and wife, Anna Margaretha.

Anno 1785.

Jones, John; died March 30th, 1785.

Höcker (Höcker?), Annalis (Anna Elizabeth).

Crothauser, ———, an old Sister.

Reissmann, John Conrad, Brother *Philemon.* "In the Lord fell asleep (on) the 20th (of) March in (the) year 1785. He was an Awakened (one) already in Germany."

(After the Germantown revival, in 1736, John Conrad Reissmann, together with Alexander Mack, Stephen Koch and Henry Hœcker, built a cabin on the banks of the Wissahickon, upon Johann Gumre's land, and

lived in seclusion until 1738, when they united with the Ephrata Community).[231]

———, Sister *Augusta.* "On the 19th (of) May in the Lord fell asleep, her age was 69 years. She was from the Würtenbergerischen."

Belsner, Johan. He was a single person and lived near unto Ephrata; died May 21, 1785.

Müller, Michael, Brother *Michael;* died September 17. He was an old brother from the Tulpehocken revival.

Anno 1786.

Mohr, Peter; died April 22.

Hartman, ———, Sister *Susanna;* died May 28, 1786. She was deaf and dumb. "*Die Stumme Susanna.*"

Müller, Maria Catharina, Sister *Maria Catharina;* widow of Michael Müller; died December 3. She was also from the Tulpehocken revival.

Gitter (Gartner?), Catharina, Sister *Eufrosina.* "On the 16th April in the Lord fell asleep, her age was 77 years, 5 months. She was from the Anwell Awakening, and was sick many years."

Beissel, ———, Sister *Sevoram.* "On the 29th August in the Lord fell asleep, her age 74 years. She was also from the Gimsheimer Awakening."

Anno 1787.

Hüberin (Hüber), Agnes, an old sister; died April 22.

Heÿpel, Agnesa, widow of ——— Heypel; died April 22, 1787, aged — years. She was from the Falkner Swamp revival; in her widowhood was blind —— years.

Keller, Elizabeth, wife of old Jacob Keller; died between May 24th and 25th, 1787, aged 79 years, 3 months, 22 days. Sick with dropsy nine months.

Eckstein, Christian, Brother *Gideon.* "In the Lord fell asleep, (on) the 26th (of) July, in (the) year 1787. His

[231] *Vide* vol. i, chap. xviii.

age was 70 years. He was a peculiarly awakened person; in his youth, in Germantown, he left his father's house, and selected the reproach *Christi*, (he) was therein faithful until his end; but often must such souls, much pass through who much suffer."

(Brother *Gideon* was also a result of one of the Germantown revivals. He came to Ephrata 7th month, 1743. He was an important man in the Community, as well as a physician of considerable local reputation. He was one of the commissioners sent to Philadelphia in 1748 to settle the differences with William Young, the Philadelphia representative of the Community. On the 16th of March, 1767, he left Ephrata and went to Germantown; he renained there until New Year's Day, 1777, when he returned to Ephrata. Under the tripartite agreement with Samuel Eckerlin, made February 3, 1770, he appears as one of the trustees. In his will, dated July, 1787, he devises the profits of forty acres of land to the uses of such Solitary who have been members of either society not less than ten years. His preceptor in physics was a Dr. Meder, from Germany, who lived in the Community 1748–1749, but was expelled upon his refusal to be baptized.)

[His epitaph reads: "*Hier liegt begraben* | *der Ehrwürdige Bruder* | *Gideon, sonst D.* | *Christian Eckstein* | *mitglied der Brüder Schafft* | *in Ephrata. Starb d. 26* | *Julius ihm jahr 1787* | *Seines alters 70 jahr,* | *1 monat, 7 tag.*"]

(He was buried upon a Sabbath, and, as Jaebez notes: "That now there remained only three of the original Brotherhood.")

Mayer, Barbara, Sister *Jael.* "On the 14 January in the Lord fell asleep, her age 74 years, 6 mos. She was the aged Bro. Johann Mayer's Daughter, and one of the

first Sisters, who in Ephrata dwelled together, and has by 51 years lived here, and was with a great funeral followed to the grave."

(Barbara Mayer, one of the four original sisters of Kedar. Her family were among the first to follow the leadership of Beissel. Her father, Johann Mayer, was baptized in the Pequea, November 12, 1724, and it was on his motion that Beissel was made teacher of the congregation. Sister *Jael* was one of the rulers of the Sisterhood and was generally beloved for her amiable disposition. She was also one of the most active nurses in Zion durng the Revolution.)

Schreit, Margaretha; died October 31.

Anno 1788.

Graff, Abraham; died March 9.

Keller, George; son of Jacob and Elizabeth; died in Virginia, February 21.

Müller, Johann; died December 18. (A young Brother.)

Anno 1789.

Gorgas, Benjamin, Brother *Hoseas;* died December 27, aged 67 years, 8 months.

Bensin (Bentz?), Maragret. (A young Sister).

Sarony (Sarone), John Jacob; born, 1715; died November 2, 1789.

Schanschlag, ———; died November 4.

Anno 1790.

Martin, Jacob (the High Philosopher); his epitaph reads: "*Hier Ruhen* | *die gebeine* | *des hohen Filosofen* | *Jacob Martin* | *er ist in Europa geboren* | *den 10ten Juni 1725, und* | *ist gestorben als ein guter* | *Christ den 10ten Julius, 1790* | *im 66 Jahr seines alter.*" [232]

Merckel, Adam.

[232] *Cf.* pp. 172-7 *supra.*

Nägle (Nägely), Jacob, "son of Brother Nägel. He was forty years precentor (*Vorsänger*) of the congregation at Ephrata." Died August 8, aged 68 years.

Eicher, Jacob, Brother *Nathaniel*, son of Daniel Eicher. "In the Lord fell asleep, the 24th (of) May; his age was 74 years and 2 months; he was a venerable old warrior, *Jesu Christi*, up to his blessed (end)."

Niess, Jeremias, an old Brother from the Gimsheim revival; baptized at Ephrata, December, 1751.

Gunlisin, Margaretha.

Anno 1791.

Flavia, Sister; died last of February. A spiritual virgin in Class Two of MS. Chronicon of Sisterhood. She was a niece of Conrad Weiser.

Rebmann, Eva (Seysinger, Zeisinger); died February 8.[233]

Mundschauer (Munshower), ———, Brother.

Höcker, Maria, Sister *Petronalla*, daughter of Ludwig Höcker (*Obed*) and wife Margaretha (*Albina*). "In the Lord fell asleep, the 27th (of) July, her age 52 years, 11 months. She was Brother *Obed* his daughter of Pharren (preacher) family (*Geschlecht*), from her tender youth (she) was drawn into this lot. She did however with her father dwell up to her end; God did her with much tribulation afflict; and did almost 4 years lay sick and much misery experienced until her end."

(She was teacher of embroidery and fine needlework in the Kloster. Her sampler is now in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. She is also said to have been the first female Sunday-school teacher).

Hefner, David; died in June.

Kimmel, Veronica; died in June.

Eicher, Jacob (Christian?), Brother *Eleaser*, one of the first to live in the Community at Ephrata. "In the

[233] *Cf.* pp. 456-57 *supra*.

Lord fell asleep the 20th (of) August in the year 1791, his age was 82 years; he was from his youth a Warrior of *Jesu Christi*, and suffered very much until his death; he was blind near 16 years."

(Jacob [Christian] Eicher was one of the original Zionitic Brotherhood, and afterwards prominent in the "Brotherhood of Bethania." In 1749 he succeeded Jethro as Prior, but did not hold the office long, as his rulings were harsh and oppressive. He was known among the Brotherhood as *der grobe Eleazer*).

Knepper, Peter.

Sprigel, Veronica; died December 12.

Anno 1792.

Bauman, Sara; born October 30, 1776; died June 30, 1792.

Annge, ———, old Sister; died October 14.

Fahnestock, Esther; born March 27, 1740; died December 6, 1792.

Höcker, Ludwig, Brother *Obed.* "In the Lord departed the 27 (of) July (1792); his age was 75 years, 6 months. He was a faithful co-worker in the house of God, and the Congregation almost 24 years with Brother Jaebez helped to support. He had been married here."

(Ludwig Höcker was one of the leading characters of the Ephrata Community and for many years was schoolmaster of the congregation, and in his old age served as the printer and bookbinder of the Brotherhood. He first settled in Germantown, and in 1738 he went to live with Brother Agabus in the cabin on the Wissahickon. In 1744 we find him at Ephrata with his family, and on the 28th of twelfth month he and his wife solemly divorced themselves. He went into Zion and became Brother *Obed*; she entered Hebron and to her death was known as Sister *Albina*. Their

daughter, Maria, joined the Sisterhood of Saron under the name of *Petronella*, and became a sister of the third class. Soon after Höcker's arrival at Ephrata he became the schoolmaster of the congregation, and in 1749 a building—"Succoth"—was erected for his use, where he projected the plan of holding a school in the afternoons of the Sabbath. He maintained this Sabbath-school for more than thirty years before Robert Raikes introduced the present Sunday-school system. In a manuscript letter, in the possession of the writer, he signs himself "Br. Obed, *ein Wallender nach der Seeligen Ewigkeit.*")

Anno 1793.

Königmacher, Adam, Brother *Naanam;* born July 30, 1737; died January 31, 1793, aged 57 years, 7 mo.

Herschpergerin (Hirschberg), Rosina; died February 23.

Neÿle, Hans; died March 31.

Fahnestock, ———, wife of Benjamin Fahnestock.

Höfflÿ, Johannes; died August 8, aged 71 years, 6 mos.

Kapp, Maria, died September 30.

Funk, Veronica, Sister *Hanna.* "Fell asleep in the Lord the 31st of October, her age 79 years 10 mo.: who came to Ephrata in the year 1739, though an only child, she left her father's house, and became a faithful fellow warrior in the economy of *Jesu Christi*, her life was edifying, until her end. She was by birth a ———, and in Germany had already been among the awakened persons."

Mundschauer, ———, Sister.

Henrich, Johpe [sic].

Nägely, Jacob, son of old Jacob Nägely the *vorsänger.* He was unmarried and died December 2 before break of day, aged 30 years, 2 mos.

Anno 1794.

Beissel, Peter, Brother *Zadock;* died January 4 (1795 in Register).

Senseman, Margareth; died March 9.

Keller, Jacob; died March 10. "In the Lord fell asleep, in the year 1794, the 10 March; his age was 87 years and several mos. He was a peculiar man in his actions and life, and walked in a God-agreeable path; was already in his tender years from the Spirit of Eternity peculiarly from God apprehended; however afterwards to the woman came, and after that the same spirit induced him to journey to this land, and did not rest until he to this Community came. He was a faithful and anxious co-worker in the house of God until in his advanced age. His venerable wife in her advanced age passed through much sorrow and pain, and passed from this world in year 1787, the 24 May, and thereafter he passed his life in silence with much fasting and prayer. In the 7 year passed to an edifying and blessed end; for six weeks he took no nourishment."

Gerdorin, Elizabeth; died June 12.

Klopf, Peter, the younger.

Rohbachin, Barbara; died July 14, 1794, aged 85 years.

Martin, George Adam; died April 29.

Bauman, Christina; died August 22.

Martin (Martisin), ———; died October 14.

Gorgas, Jacob (the younger); died October 24.

Meily, Samuel; died at Germantown, October 10, 1794, and is buried in the Dunker Graveyard in Germantown. His stone reads: "*Erw. Bruder | Samuel Meily | von Ephrata | Starb October | 10, 1794 | alt 23 jahr.*"

(From this inscription it is inferred that Brother Meily was an evangelist.)

Reiter, ———, daughter of Maria Reiter.

Knepper, ———, wife of Peter Knepper; died October 10.

Kimmel, Jacob.
Reiter, Henrich, 2d daughter (indistinct).

Anno 1795.

Borin, ———, old Sister Jacob Borin, afterward Huberin; died September 5.
Höfflÿ, Elizabeth, widow of Johannes Höffly; died September 7, 1795, aged 65 years.
———, Anna Maria, "the English Peter his wife."

Anno 1796.

Henrich, Peter; died May 22.
Hagaman, Catharina, Sister *Eugenia;* died April 23, 1796, aged 81 years, 1 month, 3 days. She was from Germantown revival and lived fully fifty years at Ephrata, and for a long time attended to the Sisterhood. She succeeded Sister *Marcella* (wife of Christopher Sauer) as sub-prioress, and after the deposition of *Maria* succeeded her as prioress.
Bollinger, Christian; died July 5; grandson of Daniel Eicher.
Kimmel, Esther, daughter of Dieterich Fahnestock, aged 29 years, 2 months, 21 days.
Miller, John Peter, Brother and Prior Jaebez (*Agrippa*); died September 25, 1796, aged 86 years, 9 months.
(The inscription upon his tomb reads: *Hier liegt begraben | Peter Miller | Gebürtig aus Oberamt | Lautern in chur Pfalz | Kam als reformieter | Prediger nach America | in Jahre 1735, Wurde | unter die Gemeine in | Ephrata getauft im | Jahr 1735 und genant | Bruder Jaebez, auch ward | Er nachmals ihr Lehrer | bis an sein Ende | Endschlief d. 25 September, | 1796.*
Steinert, ———, old brother.

Anno 1797.

Eckstein, Barbara; died August 25.

Eckstein, Elizabeth, Sister *Keturah;* died October 10, 1797, aged 79 years, 8 months.

Spriegel, Jacob, died December 23, aged 81, 2 or 3 years.

Anno 1798.

Herpel (Herpelsin), Elizabeth (Bette); died January 1, aged 70 years.

Martin, Elizabeth, daughter of Jacob Martin; died January 4.

Sattler, Susanna, Sister *Zenobia;* died March, 14, 1798, aged 72 years, 9 months.

Gorgas, Jacob, Brother *Zennah;* born April 9, 1728; died March 21, 1798, aged 69 years, 7 months.

Funck, Jacob, Brother *Kenan;* died May 13, 1798, aged 73 years, 2 months.

Gorgas, Salome, daughter of Johann Heinrich and Magdalena Hagaman; died March 30, 1798, aged 77 years.

Nägelÿ, ———, wife of Hans Nägelÿ; died August 31.

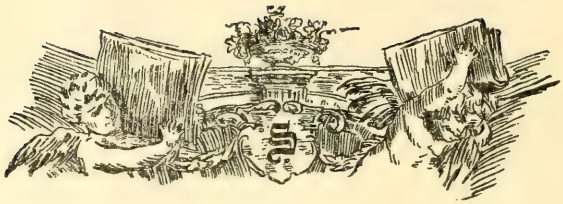
Müller, Maria, Sister *Paulina;* died February 5, 1799, aged 77 years, 5 months. Chiefly remembered by the large basket or hamper she wove in her room which was wider than her cell-door.

*Blandina*, Sister, Christina Funck? Died April 23, 1799, aged 62 years, 5 months.

Anno 1800.

Weiser, ———, widow of Conrad Weiser; died 1800, buried beside her husband in his orchard near Womelsdorf.

Bollinger, Elizabeth; died July 12, 1800; her age was 77 years, 8 months and several days.



# APPENDIX.

The late Bro. Obed Snowberger, who was thoroughly familiar with the Ephrata music, a few years before his death sent the following explanation to the writer:

"The music is chiefly composed in five parts, a few pieces in seven parts.

"We turn to page 199 of the choir music, published at Ephrata, 1754, composed by Conrad Beissel *Gott ein Hersher aller Heiden* [God a ruler of all the nations.] The piece is in seven parts, major scale on D. The composition is arranged on the treble pitch, or, in other words, on the female voice. There is an upper bass and a lower bass, but the lower bass runs just as high as the upper. They are pitched an octave higher than the ordinary church music of the present day.

"The scale upon which the music is arranged includes three whole octaves, bass, tenor and treble tones. There are used the lowest tones of the male voice, and the highest tones of the female voice. The leading part is sung by the best female voice.

"Counting from below, the first part is lower bass, second upper bass, third female tenor, fourth female treble, fifth counter, high female voice, sixth leading voice, seventh second leading voice.

"The lower and upper bass have the F cleff on the fourth line. The third and fourth part have the C cleff on the fourth line. The fifth part, the C cleff on the third

line. The sixth and seventh part, the C cleff on the first line.

"The book containing the music has the following in the German:

'PARADISE WONDERS'

Which in these last times and ages, in these evening lands, and parts of the earth have come forth as an approaching sound of the new world.

"Consisting of a new and unusual system of music arranged after the manner of the angelic and heavenly choirs.

"Ephrata print, 1754."

Eine

Erklärung

der

# Constitution,

In Fragen und Antworten abgefaßt

von

P.... L.....

Erste Auflage.

Chambersburg
Gedruckt für den Verfasser, bei M. Schöpflin
1815.

A Book on the Sabbath by Peter Lehman.

Only known copy in library of the writer.

## REGISTER OF THE SNOW HILL COMMUNITY.

### BAPTISMS AT SNOW HILL BY ELDER ANDREW FAHNESTOCK.

August 16, 1828.—John Goudey, Catherine Dull, Mrs. Dechert, Magdalen Knepper, Polly Caven, Elizabeth Fisher, Susanna Foreman and Susanna Seachrist.

October 10, 1829.—John Fahnestock of Cumberland county, and Elizabeth Fahenstock (widow) of Lancaster county.

October 16, 1830.—Christian Rider, George Mann, Jacob Riesman, Mary Snowberger, Elizabeth Mann.

May 21, 1831.—Daniel Longnecker, of Morrison's Cove, Polly Rider, Susanna Rider, of Romudgeon, and Lydia Snowberger and Polly Toms, both of this place.

October 29, 1831.—Peter Fyock and Sarah Snowberger, both of this place; Polly Fahnestock, of Harrisburg, and Catherine Longnecker, of Morrison's Cove.

March 24, 1832.—David Bingen, Sally Yockey.

June 16, 1832.—Anna Micener, Veronica Riddlesperger.

August 11, 1832.—Samuel Knepper, Sr.

August 31, 1833.—William Konigmacher, Eusebia Bauman and Catherine Bollinger, of Ephrata, Lancaster county; William Robinson, Christopher Pucco, Susanna Pucco, Lydia Mentzer, Catherina Knepper and Esther Heffner and Catherina Heffner of this place; Susanna Fyock of Somerset county; and Sarah Fahnestock, of Abbottstown.

October 17, 1735.—Daniel Rider, of Adams county; Abraham Longnecker, of Morrison's Cove; Esther Heffner, Catherina Baker, Elizabeth Mentzer and Mrs. Woodring.

May 13, 1837.—Esther Long, of Morrison's Cove.

## BURIALS.

### ROLL OF THE DEPARTED MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNAL SOCIETY AT SNOW HILL.

### BROTHERS.

Peter Lehman died on the 4th of the 1st month, 1823. His age was 65 years, 7 months and 11 days.

Johannes Schneeberger died on the 12th of the 1st month, 1839. His age was 62 years, 11 months and 1 day.

David Fyock died on the 20th of the 12 month, 1842. His age was 29 years, 4 months and — days.

Benjamin Specht died on the 6th of the 5th month, 1843. His age was 31 years, 4 months and 11 days.

The venerable teacher Andreas Fahnestock died on the 5th day of the 2nd month, 1863. His age was 82 years, 2 months and 9 days.

Johannis Burger died the 14th of the 1st month, 1872. His age was 72 years, 9 months and 6 days.

Heinrich Bauman was born the 29th of September, 1803, and died on the 20th of March, 1878. His age was 74 years, 5 months and 22 days, and he was a member of this communal society for 48 years.

Heinrich Ritter died on the 29th day of the 3d month, 1882; his age was 69 years, 2 months and 28 days.

Obed Snowberger, born June 20, 1823; died November 24, 1895; aged 72 years, 5 months, 4 days.

### SISTERS.

Veronica Schneeberger died on the 13th of the 1st month, 1841. Her age was 58 years, 7 months and 12 days.

Barbara Rank died on the 25th day of the 12th month, 1841. Her age was 74 years, 1 month and 9 days.

Hannah Meinzer died on the 16th of the 10th month, 1843. Her age was 31 years, 10 months and 7 days.

Anna Kimmel died on the 11th day of August, 1847. Her age was 90 years, 3 months and 18 days.

Barbara Schneeberger (daughter of Andreas) died on the 23d of the 10th month (October), 1851. Her age was 83 years, 5 months and 25 days.

Elizabeth Schneberger died on the 17th day of the 9th month, 1854. Her age was 73 years, 5 months and 25 days.

Catherina Schneberger died on the first of May, 1855. Her age was 78 years, 8 months and 18 days.

Catherina Hoch died on the 12th of February, 1858. Her age was 81 years, 2 months and 5 days.

Lydia Mentzer died on the 15th of March, 1860. Her age was 41 years, 3 months and 29 days.

Elizabeth Mentzer died on the 19th of January, 1861. Her age was 82 years, 3 months and 26 days.

Susanna Goschet died on the first of May, 1866. Her age was 75 years, 2 months and 12 days. She was a member of the communal society for twenty-five years and during the latter eighteen years of her life was the *Vorsteherin* of the Sisterly Community.

Polly Toms died on the 31st of December, 1868. Her age was 66 years and 21 days.

Susanna Fyock died on the 26th day of June, 1870. Her age was 84 years, 11 months and 7 days.

Barbara Schneeberger died on the 13th of August, 1870. Her age was 86 years, 1 month and 12 days.



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